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Vance, Owen Reject Serb Corridor Demand

LD2101193793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1828 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Report by Natasa Ojdanic]

[Text] Geneva, Jan. 21 (TANJUG)—Cochairmen of the conference on the former Yugoslavia Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen will not accept a demand by the Bosnian Serbs to open a corridor which would link their regions in a new Bosnia-Hercegovina, conference spokesman Fred Eckhard said on Thursday [21 January].

He told a news conference in Geneva that the two cochairmen would approve only passages under international supervision.

Under the maps proposed by Vance and Owen at the conference on Bosnia-Hercegovina, the war-torn former Yugoslav Republic is to be divided into ten provinces—four with the Serb majority, three with the Moslem, two with the Croat majority and one with the mixed Croat-Moslem population.

The Bosnian Serbs demanded the opening of corridors because the maps do not envisage geographic links between the Serb provinces and with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Eckhard said he expected that the delegations which are to attend a new round of the talks next weekend would have the same composition as in previous session.

The talks will be attended by the leaders of the three warring sides—Radovan Karadzic, a Serb; Mate Boban, a Croat; and Alija Izetbegovic, a Moslem—their military commanders, and Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman, and the presidents of the Yugoslav Republics of Serbia and Montenegro, Slobodan Milosevic and Momir Bulatovic.

Eckhard did not rule out the possibility of interrupted talks because, as he said, the maps were a hard nut to crack. He said that, even if the three sides signed the Geneva documents on Bosnia- Hercegovina's future organization, on the maps and on a cease-fire, difficulties might appear during their implementation. He said the situation was too complex for the conference to be near the end, and described the current developments as final steps towards a solution.

As for the length of the third round of the talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina, Eckhard estimated it at about two days.

Turkish Ship Carrying Arms Halted in Adriatic

LD2101205193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1657 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Ankara, Jan. 21 (TANJUG)—Yalcin Ferhatoglu, the captain of a ship loaded with 59 containers of arms for Bosnia and halted in the Adriatic Sea on Sunday [17 January], said the ship was loaded in Istanbul, on its way from the Pakistani port of Karachi to the Croatian port city of Split.

The ship was supposed to carry food and medical supplies, Ferhatoglu told Turkish reporters after the arrest in the Italian port of Taranto.

The Italian naval patrol found missiles, grenades and shells, ammunition, rifles and jeeps hidden under the food and footware containers aboard the ship, registered in the Caribbean state of Saint Vincent.

NATO and the Western European Union (WEU) control the implementation of the U.N. sanctions against Yugoslavia and the ban on arms deliveries to the war-torn areas of the former federation.

The Italian patrol found 54 Soviet- and Chinese-built missiles, 120 packages of mortar bombs, 64 packages of ammunition, 120 packages of grenades, 22 machine guns and a number of Toyota jeeps.

The owner of the ship has not yet been known, Turkish reporters in Italy said.

The Turkish authorities have supported the Bosnian Moslems by illegally sending arms and men since the outbreak of the ten-month-old civil, ethnic and religious war in the former Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The government in Ankara had more than once urged that Bosnia-Hercegovina be exempted from the arms embargo and offered that its regular army help the units of Bosnian Moslem leader Alija Izetbegovic.

EC Sends Emergency Aid to Serbia, Montenegro

AU1901140193 Paris AFP in English 1351 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] Brussels, Jan 19 (AFP)—The European Community has launched an emergency aid operation in Serbia and Montenegro to feed more than half a million refugees there, the E.C.'s executive European Commission said here Tuesday [19 January].

A commission spokesman said 325,000 family parcels would be distributed over the next two months to refugees living with host families in the two republics, which together form what is left of Yugoslavia.

He said the operation marked the E.C.'s first direct involvement in refugee relief in Serbia and Montenegro.

The community has spent 290 million ECUs (350 million dollars) on relief operations throughout the former Yugoslavia since September 1991—about two months after the start of the Yugoslav civil war.

The aid to Serbia and Montenegro will cost 8.3 million ECUs (10 million dollars). The family parcels, each weighing 15 kilograms (33 pounds), contain food and soap.

The spokesman said the aid operation would be conducted in cooperation with the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees and the local Red Cross in Serbia and Montenegro.

U.N. sanctions against the two republics because of their role in the civil war raging in Bosnia-Hercegovina do not apply to emergency aid.

CEI Talks Focus on Balkan Crisis

LD1401201193 Budapest MTI in English 1701 GMT 14 Jan 93

[Text] Paris, January 14 (MTI)—Foreign ministers from the Central European Initiative (CEI) member states held a consultation with French Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Roland Dumas in Paris on Thursday [21 January]. The ministers arrived in the French capital to sign an international treaty on banning chemical weapons.

"The talks focussed on the Yugoslavian crisis but covered other issues as well," Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, acting CEI president, told journalists.

"I stressed that the current renewal of Central Europe was important for France and the other EC member states alike. Our visit and common position deny the supposition that Central Europe is undergoing a process of Balkanization and extensive hostilities are emerging between the former communist countries. Unfortunately, there are some examples for hostilities but there exists a basic endeavour for cooperation and common thinking," Jeszenszky said.

In reply to a question, the minister said he believed that the Iraqi events would not divert attention from the crisis in the Balkans. They rather confirmed the possibility of efficient action in crisis situations.

"I think there is growing awareness in both Europe and America that the Bosnian crisis is no longer tolerable and calls for an immediate settlement. This is completely identical with the Hungarian approach," Jeszenszky said.

Czech Republic, Slovakia Admitted to UN

AU2101125093 Prague CTK in English 1925 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] New York Jan 19 (CTK)— The Czech and Slovak Republics were today admitted as members of the United Nations, a mere 19 days after they became independent states.

The decision was made by the U.N. General Assembly on the basis of a recommendation from the U.N. Security Council. Both republics submitted their applications for membership January 4.

The Czech Republic is the 179th U.N. member, the Slovak Republic the 180th member. Both states were admitted by acclamation.

In his first speech in the U.N. General Assembly, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec today said that the Czech Republic wants to actively cooperate with all states and to help strengthen international peace and security.

He said the Czech Republic fully espouses the democratic traditions of Czech statehood which has been developed for centuries. It also espouses the democratic and peace orientation of the first Czechoslovak Republic which existed in the years 1918-38, and the foreign political line pursued by former Czechoslovakia after the fall of the communist regime in November 1989.

Slovak Foreign Minister Milan Knazko said that the way of the division of Czechoslovakia has proved the Czech and Slovak nations' maturity.

Knazko stressed Slovakia's readiness to cooperate with other states and to help strengthen the United Nations. It is a member of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) troika and wants to join U.N. agencies.

He stressed that Slovakia will respect all human and democratic rights, including the rights of ethnic minorities.

The Czech and Slovak flags were hoisted outside the U.N. headquarters as the ceremony of admitting the Czech and Slovak Republics to the United Nations culminated.

Czech, Slovak Officials Prepare for Customs Union

AU2001134893 Prague CTK in English 2044 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava Jan 18 (CTK)— The establishment of the Council of the Customs Union between the Czech and Slovak Republics with the headquarters in Bratislava was approved today at the meeting of top officials of both republics.

Czech Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy was chosen to be the Council's chairman for the initial six-month period and Rudolf Besik was named to head the Council's Bratislava General Secretariat.

The Customs Union Council would urge both sides to immediately approve treaties on border crossings and on facilitating customs formalities involving rail and road traffic, Dlouhy said.

Both sides should also conclude a treaty on determining the origin of goods and generally align their legal standards.

Later at a following press conference, Dlouhy said that the Council also recommended to turn back at the border any undocumented goods.

Dlouhy added that a general meeting would be called this week to set the guidelines for easing the movement of goods across the new border. Attending the meeting will be two republics' ministers of finance, both customs administrations' top officials, deputy trade ministers and representatives of freight forwarding companies.

The handling regulations for noncommercial goods would be also examined by the Council, according to Dlouhy.

Czech Agriculture Minister Josef Lux said after the Customs Union Council meeting that there would be no special conditions put to govern the trade of agricultural goods between the Czech and Slovak Republics.

In some border districts, regional food or dairy distributors can present a summary of activities only once a month to customs authorities. They would thus avoid having to clear customs daily, said Slovak Agriculture Minister Peter Baco. He then suggested that such firms could save time and money by opening another general warehouse in the other republic.

Slovak Finance Minister Julius Toth believes that some businesses do not take the new border seriously yet. They do not bother to fill the required paperwork. They must adhere to the customs regulations or we would ask them within a month to terminate their business, Toth stressed.

Social Democratic Parties Issue Communique

LD1701195893 Budapest MTI in English 1946 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (MTI)—The economic policy conference of seven East European Social Democratic Parties ended in Budapest on Sunday [17 January] with the issue of a joint communique.

In their position paper, experts from the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Social Democratic Party of Bulgaria, the Czech Social Democratic Party, the Czech Social Democratic Youth Movement, the Estonian Social Democratic Party, the Latvian Social Democratic Party and the Russian Social Democratic Party declare that they consider the political and economic changes of the past two years to be irreversible.

They are aware of the interdependence of Eastern and Central European countries, and therefore urge to create conditions for a novel type of effective cooperation.

They support and consider necessary a rapid and organized transition of Eastern European economies to social market economies dominated by private property in a way that it does not hurt the social security of these countries, because massive unemployment and inflation might also endanger the operation of the system of democratic institutions now being set up.

The document calls to establish cooperation with the region's social democratic forces which prompts the democratic, sovereign states for joint action.

The participants in the conference agreed to send the congress material in a joint publication to member parties of the Socialist International.

Text of President Berisha's Message to Clinton

AU2201093693 Tirana ATA in English 0900 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 22 (ATA)—The Albanian President Sali Berisha sent the following message to the U.S. President Bill Clinton. It says:

On behalf of the people of Albania, I extend my heartfelt congratulations to you on occasion of your inaugural as the 42d President of the United States of America.

The United States was a decisive factor in the toppling of communism, which was the most tragic experiment mankind has ever experienced. During almost 50 years under the most tyrannical communist regime in East Europe, the hopes of the Albanian people for freedom were kept alive by the United States and other freedom-loving countries. And now, as we begin to climb out of the wreckage of an utterly abortive totalitarian system, the United States continues to provide us with a stirring example of freedom and enterprise, creativity and conscience. Today's generation and those which will come will be forever grateful to you.

I fully agree with you when you say these changes brought the spring. We hope and believe that under your leadership, the United States will continue to help the people of Albania and of all the former communist countries so that the flourishing of hopes and ideals, especially among our youth, does not vanish in the shadow of the troublesome problems left behind by the communists. For that you will have God's blessing and our gratitude.

Mr. President, the day after the signature of the North Atlantic pact, President Truman was asked what NATO would do with the countries they had fought in World War II; Truman replied that the best thing we can do is to let them become as we are. I believe that you, following the path of your great predecessors, Harry Truman and John F. Kennedy, will help the people who survived the most terrible dictatorships to build up democratic societies based on the same universal principles and values as the American society.

The bonds between our countries include the Albanian-American community, which in the course of this century, found on your shores the country of its dreams. The United States welcomed these immigrants with open arms; indeed I think it is fair to say that your country and mine have long had a special relationship, ever since President Woodrow Wilson, a democrat, saved Albania from dismemberment after World War I. Moreover, American support of Albania has always been bipartisan, and I look forward to sharing with you the same excellent relationship I enjoyed with President George Bush. I hope that in the near future you and I can meet and discuss the pressing issues of the Balkan peninsula.

Mr. President, I regret that you enter upon office only to face a series of international crises, but I am fully convinced that you will succeed in their management. I want to make sure that the position of Albania in the Balkans is very clear because in many ways, Albania is the key to peace in our troubled peninsula. In the course of history Albanians have been divided among four different states and are now the most threatened population in the Balkans. The only thing we want is peace, stability and economic prosperity. Unfortunately, the current crisis seems to deter these prospects.

We are grateful to the U.S. Administration for its warning to the Serbian Government about Kosovo; we are close to the Albanians in that occupied land and we support their peaceful struggle for political and human rights, democracy and self-determination, according to the principles established by both the CSCE and the United Nations. A just solution to the Balkan crisis will allow you and me to focus on pressing domestic issues, especially the economy. I look forward to working with you to achieve that solution.

As you take the helm of world's superpower, I wish you success, peace and prosperity. Mrs. Berisha and I extend our best wishes to you, your family, and indeed all the American people.

Sincerely Tirana, January 21, 1993
Sali Berisha
President of the Republic of Albania

Assembly Approves Bill on Status of War Invalids

AU2101191493 Tirana ATA in English 1816 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Tirana, January 21 (ATA)—On January 20 the People's Assembly discussed and approved the draft law on the status of the invalid of the war against the Nazi-fascist invaders of the Albanian people. The deputies' contributions praised the human aspect of this draft law for this category of people, who rendered a great contribution and made sacrifices in the struggle for the liberation of the homeland.

The law approved defines the criteria to be completed in order to profit from the status of the war invalids. Here are included those who are wounded or mutilated while fighting arm in hand from April 7, 1939 until May 1945, those who have acted in illegality in the enemy rears and the liberated zones, or those who have been imprisoned or deported in the Nazi-fascist camps. Of importance is that this law solves the sanctioning of the right to pension, remuneration above pension, and the increase of pension and remuneration in relation to the wage increase. The law also sanctions other rights, as that of free of charge treatment, of orthopedic equipment, the right to free of charge travelling by means of civic communication, of excluding them of taxes, etc.

In continuation, the People's Assembly examined the draft law on environmental protection, which intends to prevent and avoid any kind of pollution. The plenary sitting will continue on January 21 before noon.

Prosecutor Calls For Guilty Verdict in Hoxha Trial

AU2101200093 Tirana Radio Tirana Network in Albanian 1430 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Report by Rezear Xhaxhiu]

[Text] After a seven-day interruption, the trial of Nexhmije Hoxha and Kino Buxheli resumed at Tirana District Court this morning. There was again a great interest inside and outside the courtroom in this session.

The session opened by the reading of a supplement to the report delivered by Finance Ministry experts. After this, the counsel for Kino Buxheli asked for a 15-minute break, which he said was necessary to find out how exact the figures were in the report.

After a short break, the session continued with the questioning of witness Enver Miloti, former embassy secretary in Paris. During his testimony, many exchanges occurred between him and prosecutor Mosko regarding the truthfulness of his evidence.

After another break of 30 minutes, the session resumed and the prosecutor Teodor Mosko gave his summation. He said that the proceedings had been in conformity with the law of a democratic society throughout right until the end of the trial itself. He continued that the crimes committed by the defendants and other high-ranking party and state leaders show the depth of repression of the dictatorship in Albania, thus leading this country to a state where its human dignity was lost. All these show that while our poverty-stricken people were having their belts further tightened, these people and others, the so-called blockmen [reference to high-ranking party members], lived high on the hog. It is sufficient to mention the fact that the Finance Ministry inspectorate has found out that during 1980-90 alone, the state budget paid for everything for them to the tune of 200 million leks converted into foreign currency, of which 65 percent was only for expenses.

The summation went on to quote specific figures to reveal the abuses committed by the defendants Nexhmije Hoxha and Kino Buxheli. At the end, it stressed that concerning their prosecution, the judicial body should take into consideration both mitigating and further incriminating circumstances. Thus, concerning the defendant Kino Buxheli, it should be considered as a mitigating circumstance the provision of Article 30, Section D of the Penal Code, which refers to the committing of crimes under unjust orders or instructions by high-level party and state government officials. The same article should also be taken into consideration in the case of defendant Nexhmije Hoxha.

Prosecutor Mosko also said that at the end of the judicial arguments and the facts that he had presented, on the basis of Article 3 of Law 7,561, dated 29 April 1992, he demanded a guilty verdict for from the defendant Nexhmije Hoxha for the crime of appropriating state property in vast proportions up to the amount of 52,623 leks and, on the basis of Article 62 of the Penal Code, to sentence her to 14 years of imprisonment. He also asked for a guilty verdict for the defendant Kino Buxheli for appropriating state property in vast proportions to the amount of 60,170 leks and, on the basis of Article 62 of the Penal Code, a sentence of seven years of imprisonment. The defendant Buxheli should also be found guilty of abusing his position and, on the basis of Article 106 of the Penal Code, should be sentenced to four years of imprisonment. On the basis of these two criminal acts, the prosecutor demanded a sentence of nine years of imprisonment.

After also listening to the opinion of the defense counsels of both defendants, Court Chairman Muharrem Kushi decided that the defense summations of the two counsels for the defense and the speeches of the defendants themselves will be held at 0900 on Tuesday 26 January.

Defense Minister Views Regional Issues

AU2101133693 Tirana LUFTETARI in Albanian 20 Dec 92 p 1

[Interview with Defense Minister Safet Zhulali by unidentified reporter; place and date not given: "Albania's Defense Policy Is Open and Realistic"]

[Text] [LUFTETARI] Minister, how did NATO assess the visit of our delegation led by the president of the republic? What place does this visit occupy in the framework of the defense policy being pursued by our democratic state?

[Zhulali] This is the most important visit that the Albanian authorities have made in these last 50 years. Even from the visits that the president himself has made, this is undoubtedly the crowning achievement of Albanian political efforts to open up to the world. Regarding our defense policy, this constitutes a culmination of the meetings held at the Defense Ministry and the Army General Staff with NATO delegations and high-ranking military officials from other member countries of the alliance.

In previous meetings we noticed that there is generally little knowledge about what has been happening in Albania, either hitherto or now. They have only the one vision—that we have started out on the road to democratic transformations. Of what we have achieved in practice, they have very limited knowledge. That is why every visit of ours has been received with a certain surprise on their part: "How is it possible that such profound transformations have been carried out in such a short time?" They especially perceive as considerations the transformations within the Albanian Army.

The presentation that our delegation made in NATO was quite perfect. The president, who introduced our state's domestic and foreign policy, made a highly dignified presentation of Albania and its perceptions in the field of internal transformations, foreign and defense policy. His speech was received with much interest by the NATO Council of Ambassadors, who are active on a daily basis on the defense policy in Europe.

[LUFTETARI] Minister, there is currently talk of a more severe stance by the world community against Serbia so as to stop the bloodshed in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the spread of the conflict to Kosovo. What is NATO's stance on this and how were the Albanian delegation's proposals received?

[Zhulali] It is important to understand that there are several problems related to the existence of a typical inhuman dictatorship—the Milosevic regime. Milosevic is presently committing a form of genocide whose aim is extermination through physical ethnic cleansing. This is the true face of the bloodshed in Bosnia-Hercegovina, which Milosevic's crazed fantasy aims to spread deep into the south, into Kosovo and Macedonia.

President Berisha has emphasized the stance that should now be taken against Serbia, stressing the need to paralyze the Serbian war machine. This was received with interest by the NATO Council, which favors a more robust stance against Serbia. At the same time, it was also proposed to station peacekeeping troops in Kosovo because any possible Serbian attack on Albania and Macedonia would come precisely from Kosovo, where Serbian forces and their arsenal are concentrated.

NATO will discuss these problems and will make the relevant decisions, but it is also waiting for the world community's decision.

This was the first problem, the halting of the bloodshed in Bosnia-Hercegovina and the spread of conflict to Kosovo. The second problem, that of Kosovo's status, is a question for present discussions within the European Community and beyond. A clear definition of this problem opens the way to solving the problem through dialogue and democratic developments. The prospect of our national question appears clear within this framework.

[LUFTETARI] Our national question was presented to the NATO Council. Can you tell us anything more about it?

[Zhulali] One of the problems discussed was the problem of our stance toward the national question, because for a long time it was the policy of Belgrade and others to accuse Albania of trying to use force to create a "Greater Albania." Of course, we favor national unity because this is the aspiration of our people. Under present conditions, with divisions after the wars in Europe bringing changes to the borders of almost every state, nationals from all the countries of Europe have been left living outside their borders in other states. The most striking of all these problems was the German state, which was divided in half. The Albanian state has been suffering this for at least 80 years, since the day of its formation as a state, when part of it was left outside its ethnic territory, thus creating a confined state, but this became a usual practice and for nearly all of these 80 years nobody ever raised his voice for national unity.

The Albanian question remained a forgotten issue and this division was something very natural for the great powers and presented no kind of problem. Thus, the Albanian question in its exact form emerged precisely when the end of the Cold War occurred and people passed from dictatorship into democracy. At this time, people's aspirations were more explicitly expressed. Thus, the Albanian people expressed their aspirations, which had national unity at its core. This unity, however, cannot be achieved through force, but through dialogue and further developments of democracy and understanding. This is the way democratic governments, the Helsinki principles, and the Albanian Government intend to implement the aspirations of the Albanian nation. That is why the NATO Council members welcomed the stance taken by our delegation.

[LUFTETARI] It is natural to discuss Albania's acceptance into NATO during the visit of such a high-level delegation. How was this request received and what are the prospects for it to be granted?

[Zhulali] Our policy has shown that we are seriously engaged in international activities. This was shown by our decision to engage our Navy Fleet in the embargo against Serbia, a decision that was welcomed by NATO. With this act Albania shows that it is not for unilateral actions, but for actions framed by international decisions. This also shows that Albanians are united with Europe and do not act outside it.

We pointed out to the NATO members that we will again favor such stances, that is, stances that will be subject to a joint consultation and action. The request for Albania's membership of NATO certainly occupied the primary place in the president's discussion and in the other meetings. The fact is that, proceeding from Albania's actual stance, no one objected to this official request. On the contrary, it was said that its examination will be accelerated, but its accomplishment will come about according to specific steps of cooperation with NATO in general and with member countries in particular. These show that the policy we have followed so far in the defense field has been a very intelligent policy.

Our request was well received. There were several reasons for this: One of the most important was the reformation of the Albanian Army. The Albanian Army has undergone a reform, though two years later than the other East European countries, which did not experience a dictatorship like ours. Army reform has been carried out with in very quick steps, which have surprised everyone. Concerning the reform ideas and what we have fulfilled so far, we are currently in the avant garde of the former communist countries. The NATO leaders accept this openly, saying that "you have greatly surpassed not only other countries that departed very late, but also such countries as Hungary and Poland, which had been very near." That is why I want to use this interview to greet all the Army officers who showed understanding and very firm political will in comprehending the great changes that had to be made. I want to thank them for making such great steps forward in such a short time through pushing our Army ahead of those countries that had already undergone earlier and deeper changes from dictatorship into democracy.

The meetings that Lieutenant General Ilia Vasho, chief of our Army General Staff, held at NATO Military Command and in Stuttgart left very good impressions. Vasho made a full presentation of the Albanian Army's reform. The specific thing was that everybody in NATO accepted the need for cooperation and said that they would soon offer special assistance in restructuring our Army and making other changes as well. On the other hand, I told them that in increasing this cooperation, it is of course necessary to improve communications. These can be improved by learning the main languages in use today. Albanian Army officers will undoubtedly be subject to a major program to learn foreign languages, among which English will certainly occupy first place. I told them that undoubtedly within a two-year period, 50 percent of Albanian officers will have learned a foreign language to facilitate communication.

In the talks we held with NATO leaders and ambassadors, they promised to help us. Thus, the future of our Army is improving and finding more secure bases. The goal of acceptance into NATO will continue through cooperation with each individual member, with the armies of the regional countries, and simultaneously within the general framework of the NATO Military Staff and Political Committee. Considering the attitudes held there, I am convinced that within a relatively short time we will achieve many things that could not even have occurred to us before. This will be done to the benefit of the Albanian Army and our country's defense.

[Zhulali] Finally, I want to express my highest regard for the personalities at the head of NATO, its general secretary Manfred Woerner, General Ayde, commander of the NATO Forces' Staff, extraordinary people in their achievements and education, but very simple people in communication. Neither Woerner nor General Ayde did anything to indicate that they were any different from others. A very simple activity, and very human communication, which was naturally based on a very deep reciprocal respect for the duties each of them performs. Woerner is a very active man, very approachable, and very communicative. During the meetings we held together, he asked me what problems the Albanian Army faces at present so that they could help us. I told him that the main problem was the Army restructuring, education, etc. He said that they will certainly help us in everything, but gradually. General Ayde, who had been well briefed by Mr. Vasho and knew us quite well, maintained the same stance. He also promised that they would help us in every way, but we will have to work quickly to establish order, discipline, a hierarchy, and act on the basis of democratic laws.

In conclusion, I want to tell all the military personnel to work much harder to build an army up to European standards. We should not use campaigns to implement reform and establish order, discipline, hierarchy, and preparedness. An army cannot maintain discipline with campaigns. Discipline is a unity. It is unique and universal for the Army. Discipline should be the foundation an officer and we should educate our soldiers in this discipline. No task can be fulfilled and no army can be built by saying: We will instill discipline during these two months, in the next two months we will do this and that.... There are no such campaigns. There exists a general specific activity, which is accomplished in unity with all the goals of building the Army and those of its activity. Thus, with our daily work, we ourselves should have our Army approach the standards of the armies of the democratic countries and NATO.

Prime Minister Greets Clinton on Inauguration

AU2101204893 Sofia BTA in English 1947 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 21 (BTA)—Bulgarian Prime Minister Prof. Lyuben Berov sent a cable to U.S. President Bill Clinton congratulating him on his inauguration. Prof. Berov expresses his assurance that the U.S. President will contribute to the promotion of Bulgarian-U.S. friendly relations which, the Bulgarian prime minister believes, will continue to expand to both countries' interest. For us it is very important that the U.S. aid and assistance go on turning gradually into investments and joint economic activity, Prof. Berov's cable says.

Prime Minister on Turkish Issue, Fiscal Reform

PM2201085693 Paris LE MONDE in French 20 Jan 93 p 3

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Lyuben Berov by Sophie Gherardi in Paris; date not given]

[Text] The new Bulgarian centrist government, elected on 30 December, has advocated a less restrictive economic policy and a bigger budget deficit than the one theoretically authorized by the IMF. On a stopover in Paris from 13 to 15 January for the signing of the convention banning chemical weapons, Prime Minister Lyuben Berov discussed his government's priorities in an interview with LE MONDE.

Lyuben Berov has not started a highly exposed political career at the age of 67 after leading a peaceful academic life "for pleasure but because a kamikaze was needed." Indeed, the young Bulgarian democracy devours its children by means of rumors: "In the two weeks that I have headed the new government, I have been accused of being a Turkish agent, a crypto-communist, and more," this professional economist, who has no political allegiance, lamented.

The way in which his investiture came about partly explains his uncomfortable position. After a two-month political crisis, during which parliament's two main forces—the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], a coalition of parties opposed to communism, and the Bulgarian Socialist Party (which emerged from the former Communist Party)—successively failed to form a cabinet likely to obtain a majority, it was finally the small Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] which proposed as candidate Mr. Berov, President Zhelyu Zhelev's economic adviser since 1990. The DPS essentially represents the interests of Bulgarians of Turkish origin and, with its 24 deputies, can make or break parliamentary majorities. Mr. Berov is not Turkish but he speaks the language because he once wrote a thesis on the problem of land belonging to the Turks after Bulgaria's independence.

Mr. Berov is aware of the fragile nature of his government, supported by two thirds of Socialists, almost all the DPS, and around one fourth of the SDS. What are its priorities? To speed up the restoration of land: "Five percent of available land has been returned to its previous owners and I have give the agriculture minister the target of reaching 50 percent by the end of the year." The problem of peasants of Turkish origin who, in most cases, did not have any land and are therefore excluded from the restoration process, contributed to the previous government's fall. Mr. Berov thinks that a solution could lie in the state buying up land which Bulgarian owners do not want to farm themselves with the aim of distributing it to the Turkish peasants.

The second priority is to restore the state's authority and strengthen the fight against crime. "We must urgently revise civil servants' salaries, because we are no longer able to find candidates for vital jobs like the police, justice, fiscal administration, or customs. Some 4,000 police jobs are vacant, despite unemployment, and the courts only managed to try 1 percent of the 60,000 criminals arrested last year." Mr. Berov says he is a firm man: "I would be in favor of reintroducing the death penalty, and at least of making prison conditions tougher."

He did not hesitate in advocating a tough line for his government's third priority: fiscal reform. "Nobody in Bulgaria pays taxes. I am in favor of adopting tough legislation." The state needs money, particularly to increase the very meager pensions which 2.3 million retired people receive. Mr. Berov knows that there is a great risk of reviving inflation, but he accepts that. His aims are to give guarantees to "ordinary people," to restore order and, above all, to delay elections as long as possible in order to prevent a Lithuanian "scenario" (the return to power of former Communists).

Aleksandrov, Turkish Envoy Confirm Excellent Ties

AU1701192393 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 12 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by Major Ivan Sotirov: "Defense Minister Meets Turkish Ambassador"]

[Text] On 11 January, Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov received Yalcin Oran, the Turkish ambassador to Bulgaria. He pointed out that excellent relations exist between the two countries' Ministries of Defense and General Staffs, and categorically stated that this line will continue. There are no differences on this matter between the Ministry of Defense and General Staff. History clearly confirms that the agreements that have been reached between the two countries have invariably been implemented. New possibilities now exist to overcome the certain lag that emerged in developing and accelerating cooperation in the military field. It would be beneficial if Bulgarian officers could begin their studies in Turkish military academies in the next academic year in accordance with the agreements that have been reached.

Mr. Yalcin Oran said that his contribution to establishing and developing direct military relations between Bulgaria and Turkey is his best achievement in Bulgaria. He said that he comes from a family with a military tradition and that the military, with their logic and discipline, could provide momentum to all other relations.

Further on, Mr. Oran said: Greeting you on your appointment as minister of defense, I express my conviction that certain misunderstandings that recently emerged in our relations will be overcome. It would be best if we reached such a level of relations that you could telephone your Turkish colleague whenever you thought necessary.

The two interlocutors stressed the great importance of the forthcoming visit of the Turkish defense minister to Bulgaria, which will afford the opportunity to resolve all topical issues and expand and strengthen cooperation in the military-political sphere.

Russian Envoy Stresses Development of Relations

AU1801195193 Sofia BULGARSKA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 14 Jan 93 p 1

[Report by Colonel Ivan Sotirov: "Defense Minister Meets Russian Ambassador"]

[Text] My visit is not a matter of courtesy. It intends to point out Russia's interest in developing relations with your country in all spheres, including the military-technical one. This was stated by Aleksandr Avdeyev, Russian ambassador to Bulgaria, at the beginning of his meeting with Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov, which took place on 13 January. He greeted Minister Aleksandrov on his appointment to the high post and conveyed special greetings on behalf of the Russian Ministry of Defense.

We attribute importance to your upcoming visit to Russia because it is the first visit of a Bulgarian defense minister to Russia, Ambassador Avdeyev said. The documents that have been signed so far could become a good foundation to expand cooperation in the military-technical sphere.

During the meeting issues were discussed relating to the military reform in the two countries, the changed strategic situation in the world and the Balkans, the development of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, and the possibility of its expansion. Ambassador Avdeyev stressed that Russia's position is that first of all political means of resolving the crisis must be fully utilized.

Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov expressed concern with the development of the situation in former Yugoslavia and presented our country's well-known position that the crisis must be resolved through political means, and that the countries of the Balkan region must refrain from directly participating in the multilateral measures and actions aimed at resolving the crisis.

I attribute great importance to my upcoming visit to Russia and hope that specific results will be achieved in the sphere of military-technical cooperation. This will have great importance in increasing the Bulgarian Army's combat readiness and the country's security, Minister Valentin Aleksandrov said.

The meeting was attended by Major General Anatoliy Kiselev, Russian military attache in Bulgaria.

Macedonia's Gligorov Praises Relations, Assistance

AU1701161893 Sofia BTA in English 1554 GMT 17 Jan 93

["Bulgarian-Macedonian Relations Are Improving, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov Says"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 17 (BTA)—There is a lasting tendency towards improvement of relations between Bulgaria and Macedonia, Macedonian President Kiro Gligorov said in today's interview for the Sunday 150 Political Review of the Bulgarian national radio. In his opinion, all the conditions for the maintenance of good relations between the two countries in all spheres are there.

Invited to comment on the priorities in Bulgarian-Macedonian relations, President Gligorov said that the most important of them was the establishment of diplomatic relations at the level of embassies. The expansion of economic relations, which both Bulgaria and Macedonia are interested in, comes next. There are no obstacles to free communication in the cultural fields, he believes. However, we should not conceal that we have been left a heritage of wrong ideas and biases from the past which we should gradually shake off and build up confidence between us, the Macedonian president underlined.

Life has shown how important for the Balkans peace and stability in Macedonia are, Mr. Kiro Gligorov said. He expressed his view that the recognition of Macedonia is the most important factor for safeguarding Balkan peace. He said that Macedonia would rely on Bulgaria's assistance for its recognition by the United Nations.

What gives us a chance is tolerance and understanding, not nationalism, hatred among peoples and aspirations for expanding one's borders and establishing ethnically "clean" territories or states, President Gligorov said in conclusion.

Results of IMF Delegation Visit Surveyed

AU2101195093 Sofia BTA in English 1934 GMT 21 Jan 93

["IMF Representatives Are Willing To Cooperate"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 21 (BTA)—The leader of the International Monetary Fund mission for Bulgaria, Annoup Singh, and his successor, Russel Kincaid, expressed their desire to continue the dialogue and close cooperation with the Bulgarian Government. At the end of their mission to Bulgaria, the IMF representatives gave a news conference together with Bulgarian Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov and Bulgarian National Bank Governor Prof. Todor Vulchev.

According to Mr. Singh, the visit had several purposes. The first was establishing contacts with Bulgaria's new government and considering the priorities and the government plans for continuing the economic reforms. The second was to make a review of the fulfillment of the IMF-Bulgarian agreement signed last year which expires at the end of March 1993. The third purpose was specifying the framework of the agreement to be signed after the expiry of the previous one which is to cover the period until the end of this year, Mr. Singh said.

We got convinced that the new cabinet would seek to speed up the economic reform by activating the process of privatization and land restitution and that it would follow a policy aimed to curb inflation, Annoup Singh said. He expressed his assurance that Bulgaria's cooperation with the IMF would go on. The IMF insists on bringing inflation below its last year's level but no agreement on the problem has been reached yet. The budget deficit should be considerably decreased through pursuing a restrictive policy regarding incomes and passing a new tax legislation, Mr. Singh pointed out.

No details were released as to the course and the results of the Bulgarian-IMF negotiations. According to Finance Minister Aleksandrov, the reason for it is that the negotiations have not been completed and that a number of parameters in the agreement are yet to be specified. The government insists on a correction of the macroeconomic framework in view of some new circumstances Bulgaria's economy has got to face in 1993—some deferred 1992 payments and the measures taken to speed up the structural reform, he said. A package of measures for increasing the amount of contributions to the budget have been agreed upon with the IMF representatives, Mr. Aleksandrov informed but added this would require to accelerate the passage of new legislative acts and amend some of the now operating ones.

Bulgaria and the IMF are working on a one-year agreement but this doe not mean that a three-year one will not be signed, Bulgarian National Bank Governor Vulchev said. In his opinion, the negotiations' key problems are the budget and the social sphere.

Parliament Questions Minister on Privatization

AU2201153893 Sofia BTA in English 1402 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 22 (BTA)—Minister of Industry Rumen Bikov answered the questions of MP's [members of parliament] about the preparations and the course of privatization for an hour and a half in parliament today. He was the first minister of Prof. Lyuben Berov's cabinet whom the MP's listened to on the day of parliamentary control. Mr. Bikov headed the Ministry of Industry as a member of Filip Dimitrov's cabinet in May 1992, when the former Ministry of Trade and Industry was divided into two new ones.

"The Ministry of Industry has made arrangements for the privatization of nine industrial enterprises, most of them operating in the sphere of light industry, and decisions on the privatization of another four, two of which operate in mechanical engineering, have already been published," Minister Bikov said.

It is planned to offer for privatization 80-100 enterprises whose fixed assets come up to ten million leva. Their privatization is expected to cost 68 million leva, and the expected proceeds—between 700 and 1,000 million leva. Part of the money will be received after 1993, as probably payment under some of the sales contracts would be made in installments.

According to Mr. Bikov, the Ministry of Industry has made a financial, economic and legal analysis of industrial enterprises. They have been classified in three groups depending on how much they are ready to go private. The first group comprises attractive enterprises—they satisfy the general requirements for privatization, have the necessary ownership documents and their financial condition is relatively good, with the value of their fixed assets exceeding the amount of liabilities.

The second group comprises enterprises that can become fit for the market when restructured. This group is the most numerous at the moment. The main problem here is raising investment money for their rehabilitation. Maybe it would be better to rent or lease them for a certain period as an adequate pre-privatization measure, which could be expected to make them attractive sooner, Minister Bikov said.

The third group comprises enterprises that should by all means be liquidated.

Foreign investment made in various forms will help the process of privatization by securing new resources and assisting the modernization of both companies and management, Minister Bikov said. The attraction of foreign investment is a preparatory stage in the privatization of production facilities and will help the rehabilitation of enterprises.

So far the Ministry of Industry has licensed the establishment of 17 joint ventures. The amount of foreign investment in them is about 300 million leva. The foreign partners are companies like Incoms, Siemens, Vitalact and Delta—Greece, Microelectronics and Ekmasan—Turkey.

It is expected to licence the setting up of joint ventures with foreign investments amounting to about 2,000 million leva. The details of a project to ensure investment credits of 2,250 million leva for Agropolikhim, Devnya, are about to be finalized.

It is difficult to use the restitution of nationalized private industrial property as a form of privatization because this gives rise to very serious legal and purely social problems—that property does no longer exist in the same size and form as it did when nationalized.

The minister of industry pointed out the main factors hindering the process of privatization: the continuing decline of production, which decreases the number of attractive enterprises; Bulgaria's foreign debt, which scares foreign investment away from the industrial sphere; and the lack of a strategy for obtaining soft- term credits and the lack of financial incentives to take part in privatization.

Another factor that delays privatization is the grave financial condition of a number of enterprises—only about 30 percent of all industrial enterprises are profitable and the value of their fixed assets exceeds the amount of their liabilities. There is no clear-cut legislation to regulate the liquidation of bankrupt enterprises and companies.

In reply to a question of a Socialist MP Mr. Bikov expressed his opinion that the use of privatization bills or vouchers would not lead to a broader-based privatization, on the contrary this would hinder it and make the property agents unclear. At the moment a team including Deputy Prime Minister Valentin Karabashev is working on alternative variants for broad-based privatization which the government will consider. According to Minister Bikov, the new government will defend the thesis of privatization implemented on market principles mainly.

Assembly Adopts Amendments to Penal Code

AU2101194893 Sofia BTA in English 1941 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 21 (BTA)—The Act To Amend the Penal Code was passed on second reading today. The new version brings the standards of criminal justice into line with the new economic conditions in the transition to a market economy. The amount of fines set by the code is increased ten times.

Most of the new Penal Code provisions provide equal terms for the protection of private and public property. Punishments for trespass to personal property were more lighter so far.

The Penal Code now creates criminal liability for trespass to monuments of culture, treasure hunting and unlicensed organization of gambling.

The code criminalizes the disclosure and circulation of information and documents concerning the Security Services' recruitment of full-time and part-time collaborators and the activity of these collaborators. This standard is intended to protect national security rather than citizens' rights, the National Assembly Legislative Committee said, motivating this amendment.

Under the Penal Code, unauthorized disclosure of information about the activities of the Security Services carries on conviction a maximum prison sentence of three years. If the disclosure is made in public or through a publication, or if the party concerned is a public office holder, the punishment is five years imprisonment. Persons who have information but withhold it from the competent authorities will be liable to three years imprisonment. Persons who deliver to the authorities documents or information within one month of receiving them will be exempt from criminal liability.

The amended version of the Penal Code dropped a provision concerning the liability of violators of the transactions in currency assets and exchange control act because lawyers view this provision as an anachronism. A stricter administrative-law liability is envisaged for violations of the regulations for foreign exchange transactions.

Cabinet Discusses Social Issues, Labor Laws

AU2101180093 Sofia BTA in English 1615 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Sofia, January 21 (BTA)—At today's regular meeting the cabinet adopted a programme for the priorities in the sphere of labour, incomes, employment and unemployment, social security and social systems. The document was proposed by Evgeni Matinchev, deputy prime minister and minister of labour and social affairs. The main purpose of the programme is keeping the population's real incomes and standard of living at their last year's level, Mr. Matinchev told journalists. There will be no dramatic improvement in people's living standard but there will be no further impoverishment either, the minister of labour and social affairs said. According to him, the programme is aimed to gradually reduce the number of people living on the poverty line.

The Council of Ministers is expected to consider the arrangements for the cost of living adjustment of incomes at its next meeting. According to Mr. Matinchev, the arrangements may become effective as of March 1.

Another urgent task to cope with is combating unemployment and resolving the most painful social problems it gives rise to among young people, disabled persons, hard-core unemployed and other disadvantaged social groups in the labour market.

Concerning social security, the cabinet believes it necessary to overcome the inconsistency between the financing and management of the system and the market economy principles.

The Ministry of Labour and Social Affairs should reconsider and update the labour legislation before the end of the first quarter of the year.

Minister Matinchev told journalists that he would inform the cabinet about the amount needed to meet the requirements of the social sphere in view of drafting this year's budget.

Berov Cabinet Inherits 'Impressive' Deficit

AU1701165893 Sofia 24 CHASA in Bulgarian 11 Jan 93 p 15

[Article by Ivan Nenkov: "Cabinet Inherits Internal Debt of 100 Billion Leva"]

[Text] Filip Dimitrov's cabinet left behind an impressive budget deficit—an internal debt of 100 billion leva and an inflation of 80 percent, which could grow beyond 100 percent.

The full budget deficit for 1992 has not yet been calculated. The Ministry of Finance owes the Bulgarian National Bank approximately 3 billion leva in unpaid interest. The government used to cover its money shortages with extrabudgetary accounts, which amount to 1.9 billion leva, and which could increase because of the high banking interest.

To manage the budget, the former cabinet used to withhold financial assistance from power supply, the railroads system, and agriculture. Those branches ended the year with huge losses. The power supply system requires 4 billion leva from the state, and the State Railroad Administration—2 billion leva.

The financial machinations have now become apparent and the new cabinet must deal with them.

This is why the Bulgarian National Bank allocated a direct loan of 3.8 billion leva last week.

Some 3 billion of this amount was used to cover the financial loss of the power supply system, which, in addition, received a bank credit of 1.6 billion leva, while the Bulgarian National Bank canceled a debt of 7 billion leva. In the last two weeks, the branch received 12 billion leva in the form of financial assistance.

With the rest of the 3.8 billion leva, the Ministry of Finance paid 300 million leva to the banks for treasury bonds whose date of payment was 7 January. By the end of the quarter, the ministry must pay 4.580 billion leva for state bonds. A large part of this amount will come from the Bulgarian National Bank in the form of a loan because the state must return the money to those who purchased bonds.

Chaos in the budget and inflation doubled the internal debt in 1992, which reached approximately 100 billion leva by the end of the year, according to bank experts.

In addition, the Ministry of Finance must also assume bad debts of state companies, which amount to 22 billion leva.

According to the consolidated financial report, by the end of November the government swallowed 37 percent of the entire domestic credit, and the state companies—58 percent. A modest 5 percent of the credit remained for the private sector and households.

Financial experts think that the distribution of the domestic debt in 1993 will be similar. The present cabinet found a financial disaster, which will prompt it to ask the Bulgarian National Bank for new credits. Despite their efforts, the central bank and the government will find it difficult to hold the galloping inflation. Apparently, it will surpass the current rate of 6.6 percent per month.

Lilov Views Internal BSP Issues, Immunity

AU1801195693 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 14 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Aleksandur Lilov, member of the National Assembly, former Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) leader, by Sonya Angelova; place and date not given: "Party Boss Thanks Tatarchev for Uniting BSP"]

[Text] [Angelova] The processes that are taking place in the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] resemble those in the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. Could the attack of the chief prosecutor against you objectively help the party and consolidate it?

[Lilov] I do not think that Tatarchev could save or destroy the party. Already after 10 November 1989 the party grasped the developments, analyzed the situation in Eastern Europe and the former USSR, and assumed the initiative for changing our society and itself. Precisely this saved the BSP as a political force and ensured the confidence of one-third of the population in the party. What Tatarchev is really doing is actually uniting the party, and I express my gratitude for this.

[Angelova] Through the demand to strip you of your immunity obvious pressure is applied on Aleksandur Yordanov and all those who want to change the present course.

[Lilov] I do not think that even Aleksandur Yordanov is a target. The people whose order Tatarchev implements decided to kill several birds: myself, the BSP, and the frail parliamentary majority, which supported the cabinet, and naturally, to put some of the SDS leaders to a test.

[Angelova] The Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] also finds itself in a delicate position. Will it dare to defend you?

[Lilov] The DPS was not afraid of the Socialists' vote when it implemented its mandate. Why it should be afraid now? It must only assume its share of the national responsibility. Tatarchev openly turns the judicial system into a mechanism for dealing with inconvenient political opponents. What could prevent the DPS from declaring itself against this phenomenon?

[Angelova] Why did you object to the establishment of an inquiry commission to deal with your case?

[Lilov] I am against such a commission because I do not want to be a hostage of certain political forces. I also would not like to complicate my party's positions in its dialogue with other parties. I do not want to be the subject of behind-the-scene machinations.

[Angelova] However, it is an open secret that releasing Andrey Lukanov was one of the BSP's conditions for supporting Prof. Berov's cabinet.

[Lilov] I did not participate in such talks and thus cannot say whether this really was a precondition. I think that the BSP had very serious arguments to support this mandate. Our final support will be expressed after the first 100 days of the cabinet and will depend not only on its program declarations but also on its practical actions.

As far as I personally am concerned, I not only refuse to be the subject of political haggling, but I will also prevent such a development.

[Angelova] The rivalry between you and Andrey Lukanov is well-known. Now many people expect it to develop further.

[Lilov] Whatever differences there are between myself and Lukanov, they include by no means competing for the cells of the Razvigor Prison.

[Angelova] Your party's members criticized you for not voting for Lukanov's release. You were forced to seek some evidence.

[Lilov] I regret the fact that Velislava Dureva did not check the unsealing of the ballot envelopes. Then she would have known how I voted. If you do not trust what I say, you could ask the people who were around me in the parliament.

[Angelova] You were accused of having known everything about Petur Boyadzhiev and yet entrusting him with implementing your mandate.

[Lilov] One either has or does not have evidence about the fact that someone serves foreign intelligence services. You remember how many holy heads were separated from the shoulders because of unsubstantiated accusations—Traycho Kostov, Vavilov, Tukhachevskiy.... Precisely this was what I said at the plenum, namely, that I have no specific facts, and that if someone had specific evidence he should present it. I could show you the shorthand record of the plenum.

[Angelova] You constantly talk about unity within the BSP. However, in a certain sense it is a coalition just like the SDS.

[Lilov] There is a qualitative difference between us. The SDS is a coalition of different parties, while we are a party with different ideological currents. However, I agree with the claim that parties with different political goals form the SDS and that this is a source of their weakness. A political force cannot become stable until the ideological foundation of its unity emerges.

[Angelova] Many observers, including members of your parliamentary faction, predict the split of the BSP.

[Lilov] I do not think that a split is possible now. I think that the BSP passed the stage when this was possible. However, there is a danger of weakening, internal party intrigues, and behind-the-scene machinations.... I would not exaggerate the sharpness of those processes, but I also would not underestimate them, because they stale the atmosphere within the party and aggravate its renewal.

[Angelova] It appears that not only the voters but also the politicians themselves are disappointed with politics. Why?

[Lilov] May I confess something? I am also disappointed with politics and Bulgarian politicians. A great vacuum developed in our social life, and much mediocrity has emerged. Now Bulgaria is experiencing a sharp shortage of good politicians, and this is very costly to the country. However, I hope that the more the democratic processes develop the higher the barrier in front of mediocrity will be.

[Angelova] However, you are a parson on whom much of the cadre changes in the party leadership depend.

[Lilov] I am satisfied with the fact that at present a new and rather large group of young and capable politicians is emerging in the BSP. I mean people like Yanaki Stoilov and Zhan Videnov, for example.

[Angelova] The parties' election lists are the best barrier to mediocrity. However, very often capable people are sent to constituencies in which they do not have a chance. The case with the obedient ones is somewhat different....

[Lilov] I do not understand what you are trying to say. However, the BSP is currently subjected to such pressure that it is very difficult to be a member or a supporter. Unlike the other East European countries, an extremely radical anticommunism still rages in our country.

[Angelova] The young people are disappointed with the BSP. Do you think about this?

[Lilov] They are disappointed not only with the BSP. The disappointment with the SDS is greater and more acute. However, this does not mean that they will come to us. Our party must develop a youth program through which it should try to regain the youth's confidence.

[Angelova] Does the BSP have ideological difficulties? Are you prepared to propose to your supporters the idea of capitalism with a human face? Would they accept such an idea?

[Lilov] We are Socialists. We do not propose capitalism with a human face. We want to purge our ideas of the mistakes in understanding socialism and of the distortion that were allowed in it. People who committed crimes must be punished, but the party must relieve itself of the guilt complex. We offer the country a leftist alternative.

[Angelova] Was the loss of the elections and the power a sufficient reason to overcome that complex?

[Lilov] I do not see why we should dramatize a minimal loss in democratic elections. However, the party really needs a renewal and a more lasting and profound change in the attitude to power. It must strive for power only to implement its aspirations and ideas.

[Angelova] However, the manner in which you implemented your mandate shows that you still are not ready to govern.

[Lilov] Such interpretations are incorrect, because for several years the BSP proposed and advocated a policy of national reconciliation. We had ideas and specific ways of implementing this. The fact that we did not succeed now does not mean that will not succeed tomorrow.

BSP Leader Explains Position on Berov Cabinet

AU1901152993 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Jan 93 pp 1, 8

[Interview with Zhan Videnov, chairman of the Bulgarian Socialist Party Supreme Council, by Dora Chichkova; place and date not given: "Statement of Some BSP Deputies Sounds Like Political Fantasy"]

[Text] [Chichkova] What is the attitude of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] toward Berov's cabinet?

[Videnov] Our position was formed during the 30 December morning meeting of the BSP Supreme Council and the Socialist deputies, prior to the National Assembly session. It contained three aspects:

First, Prof. Berov's program declaration reflects much of the BSP's demands, and therefore it must be supported.

Second, it is necessary to fully clarify the nonparty character of the cabinet. Several unacceptable candidates for the posts of ministers must be canceled. It was decided that the leaderships of the Parliamentary Alliance for Social Democracy and the BSP Supreme Council should conduct additional negotiations with the Movement for Rights and Freedoms [DPS] and Prof. Berov. This put a question mark over our second voting—on the cabinet itself. The parliamentary faction was supposed to determine its attitude to the cabinet on the basis of the negotiations and the parliamentary debate.

Our third major thesis was that our support for Berov's cabinet will not be unconditional, a priori, and permanent. It would be confirmed or withdrawn when the cabinet presents its governmental program and budget, and after the first 100 days of the cabinet. We appealed to Prof. Berov to attach each of those important issues to a vote of confidence. Thus we will have an opportunity to express our attitude. This position of ours does not represent an unconditional support for the DPS or an unconditional rejection of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS].

[Chichkova] Then, why have people said that Berov's election was possible thanks to a "rebellion in the red faction," which did not obey its leaders?

[Videnov] Someone invented this. In voting, the parliamentary faction strictly observed the aforementioned position. Prior to the voting I reported that at our demand Prof. Berov included many new points in his program declaration (for example the categorical declaration against Turkicizing the population of the mixed regions), and that the DPS committed itself to not viewing any member of the cabinet as its political representative. Later, Ivan Palchev said the same from the National Assembly rostrum. I also reported that some, although not all, of the unacceptable candidates have been replaced.

At that stage several people renewed Aleksandur Tomov's proposal, namely, that in this complex situation we must determine our position toward each member of the cabinet. We postponed this issue until the recess, when the parliamentary faction met and decided to restrict itself to publishing its position.

[Chichkova] However, some people saw precisely this stage as an attempt to pressurize and manipulate the parliamentary faction.

[Videnov] I do not know precisely when Velislava Dureva felt that she was manipulated—when at the plenum she supported the proposal to vote separately for each member of the cabinet, or when she denounced it in the press. The real goal was to document the opinions and avoid probable manipulation at a later stage. Now many are excited with the support for Lyuben Berov, something that corresponds to the public's hope. However, I fear that at the first moment this cabinet encounters insurmountable difficulties the same people will say that they warned against this cabinet and that they opposed it all along. Therefore, clarifying the issue was a positive factor.

I think that the final result was logical. I do not think that it would have been different if the parliamentary faction itself would have determined its attitude to the cabinet. Nobody intended to impose the position of the majority over the minority, or to manipulate the people.

[Chichkova] Does this also include Lilov?

[Videnov] Yes. I do not recall any proposal by Lilov to vote against the cabinet, as some newspapers wrote. What he said was that an incorrect position at that stage could be fatal for the BSP. Therefore, the responsibility of each member must be clarified. Thus he explained his proposal to vote separately for each member.

[Chichkova] Were you justified in your concern that "a man of the president forms an SDS cabinet with the DPS mandate and the BSP's support?"

[Videnov] Not entirely. The situation is unusual, and the BSP's place in it is somewhat delicate. Our goal was to overcome the absurd and facilitate the formation not of a DPS, but of a nonparty cabinet. We did not want a cabinet that would be under the exceptional influence of the president but rather a cabinet that would be under the exceptional influence of the parliament. We did not want a cabinet based on the decisive support of the BSP, but a cabinet supported by members of all parliamentary factions. We did not want a cabinet of national consensus, but nevertheless, a cabinet that would not encounter the categorical opposition of certain trade union and public forces.

I think that we achieved all this, despite the fact that the situation was not completely clarified. The cabinet's actions remain the only valid criterion for assessing it. Until then there are no rulers and no opposition. There are only constructive and destructive forces. We belong to the first.

[Chichkova] A claim was voiced that the "radicals" of the BSP and the SDS united against Berov's cabinet.

[Videnov] This is a primitive and absurd claim. The SDS members who opposed the cabinet are those who throughout the year desired the monopoly and tried to assert a government based on power and a confrontational attitude, namely, members of the SDS National Coordinating Council. I think that even now they believe that without them society is lost. They certainly will not amend this fatal attitude of theirs.

On the left side the cabinet was opposed by people who thought that this parliament exhausted its possibilities and that it does not adequately reflect any longer the people's understandings about the way to resolve the country's grave problems. Therefore, they thought that this parliament must give its place to another, formed on the basis of the people's authoritative opinion.

[Chichkova] Do you think that the two groups' motives are fundamentally different?

[Videnov] Yes, because the SDS radicals wanted new elections to preserve the status quo, while the Parliamentary Alliance for Social Democracy—to guarantee a change. Both groups had a chance to succeed.

I think that the DPS was not interested in preserving the status quo, or achieving a change, but only in protecting its own interest. My opinion is based on the categorical determination with which the DPS supported the SDS even when it acted against the interest of the DPS voters, and the equal determination with which the DPS supported Berov, without even knowing what guarantees he offered to protect the interests of the DPS voters. Thus, a lack of principles is a phenomenon that exists in the parliament itself, and this is its greatest trouble.

What was important for me was that the next parliament could be a copy of the present one and thus really undermine the people's belief in parliamentary democracy. This could evoke a powerful social commotion by the end of the year and prompt a search for a solution based on power. This was to be prevented.

[Chichkova] It appears that Videnov, the "radical," was against elections.

[Videnov] Yes, otherwise I would have insisted on holding new elections.... However, the present situation also contains certain risks. They are concealed at the moment, but they could become clear after three months or so. I am not terribly excited about the new cabinet's membership. However, even if it was much better, it still would have encountered grave difficulties at certain situations. Somebody must accept the political responsibility in such situations. I would not like to see this responsibility transferred through manipulations to the BSP and its coalition partners. This would be unjust, mainly because the BSP tried another formula and did everything possible to implement it.

[Chichkova] What do you dislike in the present formula?

[Videnov] The cabinet must yet prove its intentions. If they are in the promised direction then not only we, but all society should help the cabinet. However, if the cabinet aims at transferring the constitutional possibility to one of the three parliamentary factions, when this becomes beneficial to someone, this would mean a distortion of the voters' desires and restructuring the political scene in an undemocratic manner.

By saying this I do not accuse or suspect anyone. Those are our risks. The future will show how real they are. However, by voting for the cabinet we assumed those risks.

[Chichkova] How did the failed mandate of the BSP influence the voting of the Socialists for Berov's cabinet?

[Videnov] The influence was more negative than positive. The reason is obvious—we proposed something very similar. We even discussed Prof. Berov as a possible candidate with our mandate. The same applies to a part of the ministers. Nevertheless, everyone has the right to ask whether it was more natural to support the efforts of the largest and most stable parliamentary faction in this direction, rather than the efforts of the smallest and most specific faction, especially when such a risk for the solution of the crisis is involved.

[Chichkova] According to some press reports, Aleksandur Lilov was the author of the strategic plan aimed at foiling Petur Boyadzhiev's mandate with a view to inflicting a blow on all political immigrants and the formations they lead. Is anything true in this claim?

[Videnov] Lilov had a very small role in adopting the "Petur Boyadzhiev" variant. The leadership of the Parliamentary Alliance for Social Democracy and the BSP discussed this variant at the last moment, after Zakhari Karamfilov declined the candidacy. The plenum assessed that this was the best possibility to implement the mandate of the Parliamentary Alliance for Social Democracy.

I think that the other two variants were not serious. A socialist candidate prime minister would have been categorical proof that after December 1990 the BSP could not develop anything new regarding the formula of the government. On the contrary, it would have been a return to Popov's government. Relinquishing the mandate would have indirectly supported the SDS claim for a monopoly power.

[Chichkova] Why do you think that the blunder with Boyadzhiev did not harm the BSP very much?

[Videnov] This point was not very clear when the decision was adopted. However, it turned out that the risk was too great and unjustified.

[Chichkova] Then why you did not resign?

[Videnov] From the very beginning I thought that demanding a vote of confidence was the correct move. I am glad that the members of the two leaderships adopted and implemented this attitude. The convincing result of the vote exhausted the issue at the internal party level. Society will continue to discuss it, but with decreasing keenness.

[Chichkova] For the time being it appears that there is no such chance. On the contrary, there were some disturbing articles, according to which certain influential leaders within the BSP had disturbing information about Boyadzhiev but deliberately withheld it.

[Videnov] Lilov was asked such a question at the plenum. It became clear that Aleksandur Tomov talked with him on this subject. However, both said that they have no evidence.

I myself prefer to not express most of the reproaches I would like to voice, because also I have no evidence. If I act differently I would contribute to the internal party struggle.

However, there are certain members of our party who do not understand that they are not members of our party only to ask questions, publish assessments, and pronounce judgment, but to adopt decisions and assume responsibility. Naturally, they must do this together with all other party members. However, I think that the deputies must be more responsible and self-critical. This is so not only because of the 10,000 leva wage they draw, which cannot be compared to the 1,500 leva wage of a chairman of a BSP municipal council, or to the social benefits unemployed members of the BSP Supreme Council receive. This must be so also because they are at the center of public attention.

I think that only amateurs could publish such examples of political fantasy as our deputies published in KONTINENT, STANDARD, and 168 CHASA.

There is something mixed up in the moral foundations of such analysts. Therefore, I will seriously consider the demands for my resignation or for "purging my circle" only when they are voiced by people whom I respect and whose opinions I value. Probably, I will be the first to think about this when it becomes necessary.

Parliamentary, Executive Activities Reported

AU2101204693 Sofia BTA in English 1957 GMT 21 Jan 93

["Today"—BTA headline]

[Excerpts] Sofia, January 21 (BTA)—The Bulgarian Parliament ratified agreements on the rescheduling of Bulgaria's debts to some official creditors of the Paris Club. The agreements were concluded with Canada, Belgium and Japan. An agreement with the Federal Council of Switzerland on a medium-term loan was also ratified.

Parliament ratified the Treaty of Friendship, Understanding and Cooperation Between Bulgaria and France signed in February 1992. [passage omitted]

President Zhelev signed decrees appointing Colonel Ivan Batsarov director of the National Police, and Lieutenant Colonel Kosta Shterev Bogatsevski—chief secretary of the Ministry of the Interior. [passage omitted]

Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Dimitur Ikonomov, who is visiting Uzbekistan, had talks with Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Fatih Teshabaev in Tashkent. Both sides stressed their interest in promoting cooperation. Uzbekistan proposed to draft an intergovernmental document setting out the political principles of the two countries' relations. [passage omitted]

A group of 255 servicemen of the Second Bulgarian Battalion included in the UN Peacekeeping Forces in Cambodia left for that country today. The next group is leaving on January 28, a group of infantrymen, whose mandate expires these days, is expected to return from Cambodia tomorrow.

Ten young Bulgarian diplomats are leaving for the United States tomorrow. They will specialize there for five weeks on grant of the U.S. Department of State. The Foreign Service Institute with the U.S. Department of State, where the Bulgarians will attend lectures and meet highly qualified specialists, receives foreign diplomats for specialization for the first time.

Klaus Sends Best Wishes to President Clinton

LD2101194693 Prague CTK in English 1850 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 21 (CTK)—The Czech Republic intends to resume the same close and friendly relations with the United States which Czechoslovakia once had and wants to further improve and broaden these relations, says a letter dispatched to U.S. President Bill Clinton by Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today.

Klaus, writing for himself as well as the Czech Government, congratulates Clinton on assuming the leadership of the most important superpower in the world and wishes him a great success in fulfilling those tasks, which accrue from Clinton's high office.

Klaus adds that the Czech Republic wants to improve and strengthen relations with the United States, being aware of the irreplaceable role the United States plays in global efforts to promote peace, freedom, and prosperity.

These efforts are ours too, and we shall always strive to contribute our modest share, Klaus stresses.

Clinton Administration Appointments Reviewed

AU2101194593 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No 3 18-24 Jan 93 p 13

[Commentary by Jan Smid: "A New Captain of an Old Team; Clinton's Cabinet Consists of Friends and 'Carterites'"]

[Text] Bill Clinton filled the most important posts in his administration even before his inauguration. He was particularly fast with the appointment of his economic team, which is not surprising, as most of the election speeches concerned precisely the domestic problems and economic development. Nevertheless, we are more interested in Clinton's foreign policy. Although a complete break from the policy of George Bush is not expected, a certain change is anticipated in the approach to the former Yugoslavia, in U.S.-Chinese relations, and in the problem of the Haitian refugees.

Nevertheless, one extremely important task lies ahead: Following the conclusion of the cold war, Clinton must define new objectives for the foreign policy of the United States. The appointments to the key posts in the government team must correspond to this task. Many Americans might be somewhat disappointed by the "old figures," well known from the Carter administration, taking up the most important posts in the State Department and in the National Security Council. It is obvious on the first sight that Clinton's foreign policy team lacks a figure of the stature of Kissinger or Brzezinski, and therefore it is not entirely clear who could draft a foreign policy concept.

Clinton Plays It Safe

Secretary of State Warren Christopher (67) is a typical diplomat. He did not acquire his relatively good reputation by any extraordinary proposals or plans for radical solutions to crises but rather by his ability to negotiate and, under any circumstances, reach an accord. He certainly has a lot in common with his former boss, Cyrus Vance, currently a UN negotiator. Christopher is native to South Dakota [as published], graduate of the prestigious Stanford University in California, and has spent a good many years in government service. He started his career at the Supreme Court in 1950, and under the Lyndon Johnson administration in 1967-69, he even became deputy attorney general. In 1976-80, under the Carter administration, he was Deputy Secretary of State. Christopher is not the only member of the present government, however, who used to work for the president, whose outstanding achievements on the international field (Camp David Peace Agreement) were instantly forgotten after the unfortunate attempt to liberate the American hostages from Iran.

Anthony Lake (53) rather surprisingly became Bill Clinton's national security adviser because it was expected that this post would go to Samuel Berger (47), who was appointed head of the provisional team in this sector. Lake and Berger already worked together in the Political Affairs Section of the State Department in 1976-80. Even earlier, however, Lake was Henry Kissinger's assistant in the National Security Council (under Richard Nixon).

Assistance From the White House

Madeleine Albright (55) is our "iron in the fire" in the current administration. Born in Czechoslovakia, she has been involved in national security affairs for a long time, and she nurtured secret hopes for the highest ranks. Hence, it might seem that her present appointment as the United States Ambassador to the UN is a step backward, but that is not so. The Georgetown University professor and National Policy Center director does not belong to the so-called "inner circle" and has known Bill Clinton well only since 1988. At the time, Clinton was helping presidential candidate Michael Dukakis to prepare for the television debates, and Albright was Dukakis' foreign affairs adviser. Moreover, Clinton promoted UN Ambassador to a member of the government administration—so Albright can certainly be satisfied with her post.

It is of interest that the post-Cold War change in the U.S. foreign policy concept, which the Clinton administration will apparently make, is connected precisely with her name. It involves endeavors to find a more efficient way to help the former East Bloc countries. These programs are currently administered by the Department of State and the deputy secretary is responsible for them. Albright proposes that this assistance be administered directly by the White House and wants a special section established for this purpose. If her plan is implemented, it is likely that the entire office will be headed by the former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, Thomas Pickering. Madeleine Albright, too, belongs to the "old Carter structures," as she worked in the National Security Council under Zbigniew Brzezinski during the Carter administration.

Clinton is clearly less prepared for dealing with the international issues than for the domestic ones, and therefore he decided to play it safe and not to experiment. The only "green" member of his foreign team is Nancy Soderberg, who at one time assisted Edward Kennedy. It is of interest that Soderberg studied at Georgetown and was Albright's student.

The Weak Man for "Agricultural War"

How are the other posts in the Administration filled? The appointment of Mike Espy (39) as secretary of agriculture seems to be an obvious oversight. The only experience Espy has is from his state (Mississippi), which is among the poorest in the United States. Experts fear that the ongoing "agricultural war" between the United States and France may be "three levels above his class." Problems are also expected in the Pentagon but of a different type. The energetic Les Aspin (54) is much less hesitant to use military power than, for example, his predecessor Dick Cheney was, and therefore he could easily get into a confrontation with the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, who is known for his restraint in this respect.

Ronald Brown (57), chairman of the Democratic Party Committee, who so skillfully organized the Democratic Convention in New York, is in charge of the Department of Commerce. Richard Riley (59), former Governor of South Carolina, will take over the Department of Education. He had a great impact on Bill Clinton's attitude toward education-related issues. Donna Shalala (51), who has never worked in this field, became health and human services secretary. Robert Reich (46), Harvard University professor of economics and Clinton's classmate from Oxford, is the labor secretary, and Senator Lloyd Bentsen (71), former vice presidential candidate, is treasury secretary. Among the most important nonadministration posts is the position of White House chief of staff. It will be taken up by Thomas McLarty (46), whose only qualification, according to experts, is that he and Clinton have been friends since kindergarten.

The administration appointments are considered to be one of the most important and most difficult tasks of every president. The team dealing with the domestic issues and economic relations is composed of Clinton's classmates and friends, foreign policy issues will be taken care of by the "Carterites." Thus, the overall structure reflects Clinton's priorities. One cannot expect that the foreign policy of the new president will significantly depart from the current one, or that Clinton will assign to it less time than necessary, but it is reasonable to expect that the current U.S. number one man will be less attracted to it than was George Bush.

Iraqi Compliance With UN Resolutions Urged

LD2101214693 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 2100 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] The Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs has issued a statement on the situation in Iraq: In the view of our diplomacy, continuing escalation of the conflict can be prevented only if Iraq fully and finally complies with all the respective UN resolutions and the measures adopted by the Security Council. This is the only way in which it is possible to avoid the enforcement of the observation of UN resolutions by military force.

Zieleniec Outlines Republic's Role Within UN

AU2201150293 Prague CTK in English 1548 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 20 (CTK)—As a member of the United Nations, the Czech Republic wants to continue the tradition of active participation in the activities of the organisation as pursued by the former Czechoslovakia, Czech Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec said here today.

Upon his return from New York, where the two successor states to Czechoslovakia, the Czech and Slovak Republics, were accepted as UN members Tuesday [19 January], Zieleniec said that the Czech Republic wants to be...a visible member of the international community.

He added that the Czech Republic's UN policy was the theme of his talks with UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali and other UN representatives on Tuesday.

I stressed that we are not merely formally assuming Czechoslovakia's obligations towards the UN, but that we want to work as is customary for a country of our significance, Zieleniec said.

In this context, he noted the Czech Republic's intention to seek the post of a nonpermanent member of the UN Security Council as of 1994.

Zieleniec Discusses Foreign Policy Aims

AU2101162293 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 19 Jan 93 p 18

[Interview with Foreign Minister Josef Zieleniec by Milos Sklenka; place and date not given: "Two States, Two Diplomatic Policies"]

[Text] [Sklenka] The independent Czech Republic has, from the geopolitical point of view, relinquished direct contact with the East and the trans-Danubian region, and has been drawn into the even tighter embrace of the German-speaking nations. Is there any likelihood of them exerting strong pressure aimed at influencing our foreign policy orientation?

[Zieleniec] I do not think pressure from Germany is an issue directly related to the size of its population. The republic now has a population of tens of millions, but for this reason alone, it may transpire that we will be less resistant to this pressure. I would like to point out that we were in a similar situation in the past and we preserved our national identity. I think postulations about such a possibility are exaggerated; such thinking is chronologically associated with the demise of the Federation and the birth of the independent republics. On the other hand, it is true that it does look as if we have—from the geopolitical point of view—shifted more toward the West. The loss of direct contact with the territory of the former Soviet Union also means different political relations with this region. The fact that we no longer have direct contact with the trans-Danubian region—which was always the gateway to turbulent southeast Europe—again means that our mutual relations will change.

[Sklenka] How will this alter the Czech Republic's foreign policy orientation, for example, in comparison with the policy we have witnessed here during these past three years?

[Zieleniec] Clearly, the change in our geopolitical situation must be manifested in a change in our foreign policy, because the geopolitical situation is an essential—if not the most essential—factor of foreign policy. I would say that there will merely be a shift in emphasis. Our general orientation toward integration with West Europe and our orientation toward achieving membership in the EC and NATO—the two main organizations we want to become members of—is continuing and is even increasing. In fact, we are now a more distinct and clear-cut state for the West. Our endeavor to become a component of the West European institutions has, of course, an economic and defense dimension. However, the most important aspect of all is the fact that we share the same values as West Europe and that we want to bear joint responsibility for it. This is an aspect that I think, following the creation of the independent Czech Republic, will be even more consequential for our policy.

[Sklenka] The New Year addresses delivered by Prime Ministers Klaus and Meciar differed considerably in certain matters pertaining to foreign policy. While Vladimir Meciar placed Russia and Ukraine among the priorities of Slovak foreign policy, we did not—in this connection—discern any reference to our former large neighbor in Vaclav Klaus' address.

[Zieleniec] Our foreign policy is oriented toward integration with West Europe. This does not mean we will not maintain good contacts with countries of the former Soviet Union such as Ukraine and Russia—countries where we have many interests. For example, we receive many sources of energy from there, but if you are talking about priorities, then these are obvious and the difference between the aforementioned addresses provides a graphic illustration of how we look at the map.

[Sklenka] Do you foresee any kind of closer cooperation with the Slovak Foreign Ministry in the future?

[Zieleniec] We have certain common problems—problems that we simply inherited from the Federation—and we have to cooperate with each other to resolve them. We are the successor countries to all the treaties concluded by Czechoslovakia and the CSFR. These treaties must be transferred to the two successor states and there are things that simply bind us together. Therefore, we will have to cooperate. On the other hand, I do not think we will coordinate our foreign policy somehow because Slovakia has different neighbors from us, which naturally means that they will place a different emphasis on their foreign policy.

[Sklenka] In your opinion, what is the main contribution made by the Czech Republic's participation in the undertaking to set up a free trade zone within the framework of the Visegrad Group?

[Zieleniec] It is very important for every state to get on well with its neighbors. A smaller state with many neighbors, for example, the Czech Republic, is even more important than for large states. From this point of view, we welcome each offer of specific cooperation from our neighbors. Cooperation within the Visegrad Group is in fact a project aimed at necessary regional cooperation. However, on the other hand, we must ensure this is really definite cooperation and not just empty political declarations. Therefore, for example, we support the free trade zone. This is unequivocal and mutually advantageous cooperation, since the general rule is that the larger the market, the more advantageous the cooperation from the long-term point of view.

In the short term, of course, it could be detrimental to the interests of those who are not so efficient to expose their products to competition, and that is the "catch" here. There is talk about a free trade zone, but people are saying in private that it will take nine or even 10 years to establish. There is talk about a free trade zone, but long lists of goods exempted from this arrangement are being passed around under the table. General declarations on cooperation are not significant for us if they are not supported by specific commitments, otherwise the danger would arise that others may perceive the Visegrad Group as an institutional alternative to the European Community. The "if the West does not want us in the EC, then we will create our own EC" and "if the West does not want us in NATO, then we will create our own NATO" type of policy—as espoused by President Walesa—is absolutely unacceptable to us. In our view, this is not a solution.

[Sklenka] Why are the other Visegrad Group governments afraid of speeding up the process involving the mutual relaxation of trade barriers and why are they still placing emphasis on the longer term?

[Zieleniec] I would not say the governments are afraid of it, but rather that the governments are not standing up to the pressure from various lobby groups—the coal lobby, agriculture lobby, and producers of this or that lobby. Instead of the governments saying to those producers demanding protection, be as good as the producers from other countries because competition is the best thing, not only for the consumers, but, in the final analysis, also for you and the state because the economy will be stronger and more healthy—the governments are bargaining for exceptions abroad. Something similar, but in a different form, is also happening in the European Community. The issue involves overall isolationist pressure throughout the world and particularism, which, in my opinion, is also politically disastrous because if we divide the world, we divide the world's markets and nations, and we distance people from each other. There is no point in talking about European integration and the common European home if we divide Europe into dozens of markets and we are afraid to expose our ability to the test of comparison with the ability of others.

[Sklenka] In connection with our possible future acceptance into the EC, you have said several times that it is essential for Brussels to provide us with clear rules for membership. Are the other Visegrad Group governments of the same opinion or does the idea of some kind of group bargaining prevail there?

[Zieleniec] One does not contradict the other. We are stressing that it makes no sense to negotiate on behalf of the group because the actual fate of our future membership in the European Community depends—in the end—on how each individual country adjusts at home to establishing a modern society and to creating a modern market economy. I am convinced it is pointless to knock on Europe's doors every six months. What we do at home will determine whether we become part of the EC. However, when I talk about criteria, I stress first and foremost that the EC countries should make it absolutely clear to us that we are part of Europe, that we are Europeans, and also that it is immaterial that—by chance—there are borders and an iron curtain here that we inherited from the era of ideological division. We want to know for sure that when we meet the goals set for us, we will be accepted by West Europe and we want to hear that there is no attempt in this to politically dismiss us, but that—at the moment—there are technical problems here.

[Sklenka] Our acceptance into the United Nations is currently under discussion. What does the foreign minister, and the Czech Republic in general, expect from our acceptance?

[Zieleniec] The fact that our country's acceptance is being discussed just 15 days after its establishment is very significant. This is an unprecedented occurrence. This is a sign that our republic's establishment and the way it was achieved have been generally accepted. At the same time, I would like to stress that we have initiated intense activity to ensure that the Czech Republic becomes a nonpermanent member of the Security Council in 1994-95. According to our preliminary exploratory talks with the states capable of influencing this, it seems we have a relatively good chance. If we were to be successful in this, it would again be an unprecedented occurrence because election to the Security Council is a sign of something more than just the acceptance of a member. It is a sign of a certain importance, especially in the region in which the country is located.

[Sklenka] How satisfied are you with the division of federal property within your department?

[Zieleniec] I think we have managed to divide the property without coming into too much conflict. I personally regard this as proof of just how well organized and civilized the whole process of the establishmen of two states' was. The fact that Czech Republic representative offices have been operating throughout the world since 1 January and that—so far—there have been few problems merely goes to show that we have successfully divided our property.

Talks With Slovakia on Division of Assets Complete

LD2201095193 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 0700 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] The intergovernmental commission for the division of federal assets completed its talks in Cejkovice in the Hodonin district late last night. Czech Finance Minister Ivan Kocarnik announced that the relevant agreement could be signed by both prime ministers next week. He stated that in effect, the division of all federal bodies was clear, with the exception of the Office of the President of the Republic where the inventory of movable assets was being verified. According to him, the balance of payments of the former state bank was also discussed. The bank's current balance of payments is 22-23 billion koruny in favor of the Czech Republic. Slovak Minister of Finance Julius Toth, nevertheless believes that before a final division is made, this amount will be further reduced by about 18 billion koruny. According to Ivan Kocarnik, the Slovak gold treasure was discussed again but the views of both sides have not changed. No agreement was reached on issues concerning the division of the results of the coupon privatization. The Slovak side said that as far as it was concerned this problem had been resolved with the end of the Federation.

Dlouhy: Republic Ready To Join EC in 2 Years

LD2101221593 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1600 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] According to Vladimir Dlouhy, minister of industry and trade, the Czech Republic will be completely ready to join the EC in two years. He said this at a press conference in Vienna while pointing to the democratic system, economic stability, low unemployment rates, and satisfactory balance of payments. Together with Austrian Economic Affairs Minister Wolfgang Schussel, Minister Dlouhy is preparing an intergovernmental agreement on economic, industrial, technical, scientific and technological cooperation, and an agreement on cooperation in tourism. Both ministers consider mutual economic relations to be very good, which is best documented by the large increase in trade exchange in both directions.

Presidential Election To Be Held 26 Jan

LD2101221393 Prague CTK in English 1848 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 21 (CTK)—The election of a Czech president will take place next Tuesday [26 January] at 3 pm, during the second session of the Czech Parliament Chamber of Deputies. The vote would most likely be secret.

This information was released today by the organisational committee of the Chamber of Deputies. However, the full legislature will have to decide on the exact voting procedure.

If a president is elected, that person would take the oath of office at the Prague Castle on February 2 at 2 pm.

Havel Airs Thoughts on Politics, Presidency

AU2101202793 Prague RESPEKT in Czech No. 3, 18-24 Jan 93 p 9

[Interview with Czech presidential candidate Vaclav Havel by Vladimir Mlynar; place and date not given: "I Could Be Elected in the Third Round"]

[Text] [Mlynar] In late December you withdrew into seclusion and have not made a public appearance since. Why?

[Havel] I have not withdrawn into complete seclusion; I only temporarily took refuge in my country house. I had several reasons for that: First, I felt that I had already fulfilled some of the tasks I resolved to accomplish last fall. Second, I wanted to do some reading, write a bit, and I simply wanted to gather my thoughts. Third, I had the impression that I was becoming (sometimes quite unnecessarily) too much the subject of controversy, as it were, and I felt that it would be appropriate to be quiet for a while, all the more so as I had already said all the things I wanted to say in public and did not deem it necessary to return to them. Simply, it seemed to me that it would do no harm if the public got some respite from me. I repeat, however, that I have not withdrawn into complete seclusion. While at Hradecek [Havel's home in the country], virtually everyday I had some political talks or working meetings. In the last week alone I was visited by the chairmen of three parties, gave several interviews, and wrote one major article.

Foggy Picture

[Mlynar] Are you satisfied with your performance on the political scene this last fall?

[Havel] Half and half. I was in an unusually difficult situation and do not know whether I always found the best way of moving in it. Just imagine: The last president of a state that is about to cease to exist and, at the same time, candidate for the first presidency of a new state. He is a private person without a function, yet a thoroughly public phenomenon. He is a man who is rightly expected to have his own clear opinion on everything but, at the same time, a man who decided to run for a position to which he can be elected only if he does not become suspicious to our somewhat touchy and irritable political subjects because he might have a different view on something than they do. He is a man who is for quite understandable reasons being constantly drawn into various political affairs and who at the same time stands accused—again for reasons that are quite understandable—of having no right as a private person to become involved in this political matter or another. I could continue enumerating such unfavorable parameters of my situation for a long time. Nonetheless, I believe that in the course of the fall I managed to accomplish all the basic tasks that I had set for myself. In what I did not succeed, however, was to attend well to what is called public image. For example, I was on television almost everyday; the viewers were forced to watch me for many hours, yet because of a number of the most diverse unfortunate circumstances and, of course, also my own clumsiness, I somehow never managed to unambiguously, comprehensibly, concisely, coherently, and consistently explain on television my position, my intentions, and my program. (I succeeded in this a few times only during debates with citizens). The picture the broader public had of me was therefore necessarily a bit foggy. The political atmosphere was not at all favorably disposed toward myself (for many reasons, the analysis of which could fill a slim book) and I simply did not manage to come to terms with it in public in a truly elegant manner. This is why I say that I am only half-satisfied with my performance in fall.

The Castle Must Be a Functioning Office

[Mlynar] After your resignation from the post of Czechoslovak president you completely exchanged the team of your collaborators. How did you select the new people?

[Havel] My closest collaborators from the Office of the President of the Republic [KPR] resigned together with myself, if they had not done it earlier, and accepted other posts. Two of them are now deputy ministers, one is ambassador. However, I have not exchanged them for another team of collaborators. I have a single new professional collaborator. It is Mr. Spacek, my press secretary and spokesman, who is my employee. I selected him because I liked his commentaries on television and his personality and because I was told that he was an intelligent and erudite man and a true professional. I am glad that he accepted the position, and I am very pleased with him.

Michael Kocab helps me in some matters, but he is not my employee. He himself offered his help because he respects me and simply wanted to help me. He intimately knows many politicians from his days in parliament and because he is not member of any party he is accepted by more or less all of them without the wariness arising from a different party affiliation. He was helping me some time ago as founder of the "Bridge" initiative [which mediated the first contacts between the then communist leaders and the opposition in November 1989], and even now he operates as a kind of connecting link between myself and various politicians. I cooperate well with him, apart from other reasons because he manages to be critical toward me but, at the same time, is capable of criticizing me in a way that does not deprive one of all appetite for work and life, something at which many of my other critics excel.

The impression that I have is that a "new team" may have come about because the KPR had given some of its employees a six-month assignment to process the "winding down" responsibilities of the presidential office, which I must say are many (there are some 150 invitations to visit foreign countries, 100 letters a day, and hundreds of telephone calls to be answered, visitors to be received, and so forth). These people cannot be referred to as a "new team" because they had worked in the KPR prior to my resignation. This service will come to an end on 20 January, and because the KPR must drastically reduce the size of its staff on the basis of a Czech National Council decision, the people working in that sphere of duties will be discharged. I will try to employ some of them myself.

[Mlynar] Will your present collaborators act as your advisers in the event of your election as Czech president? Who will become chancellor?

[Havel] I abolished the position of advisers at the Castle a long time ago and would not renew it if elected Czech president. I would be interested in the services of Mr. Spacek as my spokesman. Michael Kocab would not accompany me to the Castle because he has a lot of work of his own to do and because he is helping me only now and only on an ad-hoc basis.

The KPR is headed by Lubos Dobrovsky, who does his work conscientiously, and I see no reason he should not continue in the event of my election. We have an agreement that, should I find a more suitable person as time goes by, he will leave without any bitter feelings. However, right now I do not know of any person who would be more suitable. As far as other ranking positions at the Castle are concerned, I reckon that some of them would be held by the people holding them today and some (in view of the introduction of a simpler structure, not many of them are left) would be filled anew. I am not interested in people with political ambitions but rather in loyal civil servants, in true professionals. It will not be easy to find them. While we have an overabundance of people with political ambitions in our country, there are not many civil servants of the type I have in mind. My idea of the Castle is not one of a political debating club but one of a perfectly working office.

I Do Not Intend To Persuade Deputies

[Mlynar] While the Czech Constitution was being drafted, you repeatedly stressed that the Czech president should be elected by both chambers of parliament so that his legitimacy would be different from the government's. As there is no Senate, why do you agree with the president being elected by the Chamber of Deputies alone?

[Havel] So far I have not said anywhere that I would agree with it, but indeed, I would agree with it. I have always been of the opinion, and I have not changed this opinion, that the president should not be elected by the same body that passes a vote of confidence in the government (which in our case is the Chamber of Deputies). However, I do not think so because of some personal idiosyncrasy but only because it is systemically correct. As long as we have no Senate, under the Constitution the functions of the Senate are performed by the Chamber of Deputies and, hence, it is only the Chamber of Deputies that elects the president. I do not know why I should revolt against this and insist that, apart from the Chamber of Deputies, I be elected also by a nonexistent Senate. That would be sheer absurdity. By adopting such a stand, I would indirectly challenge as illegitimate everything done by the Chamber of Deputies when substituting for the Senate at a time when the Senate does not exist.

[Mlynar] According to public opinion polls, about one-half of citizens would like to see you in the post of president. However, only four of the parliamentary parties (the Civic Democratic Party, the Civic Democratic Alliance, the Christian Democratic Union-Czechoslovak People's Party, and the Czechoslovak Social Democracy) support you. How do you assess your chances of being elected?

[Havel] One can imagine many unexpected reversals and surprises. It seems that, if nothing of that sort happens, I could be elected in the third round of the first elections.

[Mlynar] It is no secret that even among deputies of the Civic Democratic Party there exists aversion to your candidacy. What do you want to do to enlist their votes?

[Havel] I am ready at any time to reply to anyone on any questions and to explain my views or intentions. However, I do not intend to persuade anyone to vote for me or to opportunistically win his vote by making some insincere promises. I have said many times that I do not want to be president for the sake of being president and that I do not want to be president at any price.

Single Vote Majority Is Legitimate

[Mlynar] Jiri Dienstbier said last week that Vaclav Klaus supports you only so as "not to lose his credit" and that he would blame the opposition for your possible nonelection. Do you agree with that statement?

[Havel] I have no reason to ascribe to Vaclav Klaus such speculations and intentions. I do not know whether Jiri

Dienstbier has such reasons and what these might be. It is therefore not up to me to agree or disagree with that statement.

[Mlynar] Would you accept the post of president if elected by a small margin?

[Havel] I can scarcely predict all the possible paths, circumstances, and aspects of my election and cannot therefore easily make any binding statements about my reactions. As a matter of principle, however, I believe that he who receives the required majority, be it majority of a single vote, is a legitimate president, while he who is short of even a single vote does not become president.

I Will Not Obstruct the Election of President

[Mlynar] Under what circumstances would you withdraw your candidacy?

[Havel] One can imagine many situations in which I would seriously consider the withdrawal of my candidacy. Let me mention at random just one of them: Let us assume that after the third round of the first election it would be obvious that I stand no chance of being elected even in the second election. At the same time there would exist a countercandidate who would also stand no chance but, unlike me, only because some parties that had proposed me and had voted for me would feel bound by their earlier stand and would hesitate to change this stand for fear of losing face. In such a situation I would have to consider whether not to facilitate the situation by withdrawing my candidacy for the second election in the interest of an early election of the president. One can surely imagine several such situations. One can also imagine completely different situations that might confront me with the same dilemma. However, a specific decision can be made only against the background of a certain specific situation and it does not therefore make much sense to theoretically speculate about this matter in advance.

[Mlynar] Were you surprised by Jan Strasky's statement that he was ready to consider his candidacy for the post of president?

[Havel] A bit.

[Mlynar] If you are not elected, whom would you like to see as president?

[Havel] I would be a very bad politician indeed if I replied to your question. My "lack of practicality" does not go that far that I would promote one of my countercandidates before it becomes necessary.

Changes in Social Security System Announced

AU2201144893 Prague CTK in English 2216 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 20 (CTK)—The Czech Government envisages raising the subsistence level by 13 to 15 percent, but will narrow the extent of social measures and provide social benefits strictly to those in need, Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus said today upon the government's approval of a bill on changes in social safety.

Minister of Labour and Social Affairs Jindrich Vodicka said that together with raising the subsistence level, rules must be set for granting subsistence level benefits. The basic step will be considering a family as a whole, which means that all its members must satisfy the criteria of social need, Vodicka said. This means, he explained, that if one member of the family can work but does not, the rest of the family cannot obtain social benefits.

Knazko Briefs Press on Trip, Ambassador Posts

AU2101185693 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 16 Jan 93 p 2

[Report by "jl": "Slovakia Will Help With the Control"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava—Slovakia does not have any chemical weapons but is open to any inspection of its chemical factories, and its experts and resources are available for any monitoring of the compliance with the treaty banning the development, production, stockpiling, and the use of chemical arms, and demand for their destruction. Milan Knazko, Slovak minister of foreign affairs and deputy prime minister, emphasized this at the news conference that took place approximately one hour after his return from Paris. [passage omitted]

During his meeting with Swedish CSCE Chairman Ugglas, the oft proposed direct military intervention in Bosnia and Hercegovina—which, according to Knazko, is a very risky business—was not discussed.

To the PRAVDA question of why the Slovak ambassador to Hungary, for instance, was not mentioned in the press release issued by the Slovak Government spokesman Bohus Geci last week, Knazko replied that this publication of the government approved proposals of ambassadorial appointments is not good because their actual appointment is not guaranteed: "Until the agreement from the appropriate state is obtained, it is not proper to say that a person will be an ambassador." The candidacy of Rudolf Chmel (current CSFR ambassador) for the post of the Slovak ambassador to Budapest has not been approved by the government. Knazko emphasized that he, himself, considers Chmel a highly qualified diplomatic representative and values his recent work very highly.

Discusses Foreign Policy Concept

AU2101210993 Bratislava HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Slovak 19 Jan 93 p 18

[Interview with Minister of Foreign Affairs Milan Knazko by Dasa Hyklova; place and date not given: "Two States, Two Diplomatic Policies"]

[Text] [Hyklova] Since 1 January, Slovakia has existed as an independent state. How did your ministry and the Slovak diplomatic service in general prepare themselves for this change?

[Knazko] Based on agreements of principle with the Czech political representation, shortly after the elections [of June 1992] we started to implement national parity in filling posts at CSFR representative offices abroad. The goal was to achieve a situation by 31 December 1992 in which both republics would have their representatives not only in the so-called political sections, but also in the technical and administrative sections at as many missions as possible. This was very important from the viewpoint of division of property. We have essentially fulfilled this task. At all representative offices, in whose continued operation we were interested, we created conditions in terms of personnel and material and technical provisions that allowed the independent representative offices of the two republics to commence their full-fledged activity right from 1 January.

Of course, a number of technical and organizational problems had to be resolved in the process. In some respects our situation was probably more difficult than that of the Czech partners, who were able to rely on a larger number of seasoned diplomats and foreign service staffers in general. In spite of this, I think that we have established all prerequisites necessary for a smooth operation of our new foreign service.

[Hyklova] Do you plan on coordination of work between your ministry and the Czech Ministry of Foreign Affairs?

[Knazko] Of course. Starting with the most primitive forms of technical cooperation in securing communication between representative offices and the center or in the joint use of real estate abroad and ending with the most sophisticated forms of political cooperation. The Czech Republic undoubtedly remains our most important economic and political partner. The world, too, expects us to cooperate and to coordinate our course of action in, for example, our admission as members of various international organizations. We have reached agreement whereby the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic became the CSFR's successor states. This presupposes our ability to agree on the division of commitments arising from the CSFR's membership in international organizations that have been assumed by the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic. Let me cite as an example the division of commitments stemming from the draft association accord between the CSFR and the European Communities.

[Hyklova] Owing to its geographical location, independent Slovakia's political orientation is sometimes being associated more with the East than with the West....

[Knazko] We regard as the main priority of the Slovak Republic's foreign policy the full-fledged entry into Europe and participation in European integration processes. We will place the main emphasis on the development of cooperation and contacts with the chief Euro-Atlantic organizations—the EC, NATO, and the West European Union. An irreplaceable role in our foreign policy will be played by the CSCE. We attach great significance to the development of cooperation with neighbors where we see great untapped potential, especially in the economic sphere.

We perceive Slovakia's geographical location as an asset allowing us to develop its potential as an East-West bridge. As a matter of fact, there are many examples in history of so-called small states that managed to play a big role both politically and economically. I believe that our foreign policy should also develop in this direction. For known reasons, over the past 40 years the Slovak economy was oriented primarily toward the countries of

East Europe and the republics of the former Soviet Union. We have built there a network of contacts, gained markets for our products, and acquired sources of raw materials essential for the operation of our economy. It would be politically unreasonable and economically inadmissible to give up all the positions we have built there. Many foreign firms are coming to Slovakia precisely with the idea of building a base for their economic expansion to the East in Slovakia.

However, this does not affect in the least our firm determination to become fully integrated into the emerging united Europe and to become a fully fledged member of the European community of democratic states.

[Hyklova] What is the concept of Slovakia's foreign policy toward its immediate neighbors, particularly Hungary, in view of areas of friction such as Gabcikovo or the Hungarian minority in Slovakia?

[Knazko] The same as in our relations with the other neighbors, our endeavor in relations with the Hungarian Republic is to achieve the best possible relations. We see great untapped potential, particularly in the sphere of economic cooperation. We ascribe paramount importance to the development of relations and cooperation with the Czech Republic, which remains our main partner. We have an extraordinary interest in the development of comprehensive cooperation with Austria as the sole neighboring country with an advanced democratic system and a developed market economy. We see considerable potential in the development of economic cooperation with Poland and Ukraine as our traditional trade partners.

In our relations with Hungary we will push for a frank dialogue on all disputes questions. In case of an inability to reach an agreement on a bilateral level, we will push for negotiations with a third party attending. In this way we will try to head off an unnecessary politicization of some issues. For example, the solution of open questions regarding the Gabcikovo-Nagymaros system of hydroelectric power stations has convincingly demonstrated that the depoliticization of the whole issue and transfer of discussions to the level of experts have brought the two sides closer to finding a bilaterally acceptable way out. We have recommended that a similar approach also be used with respect to the observance of ethnic minority rights in this area. We have proposed the creation of an international commission that would include Council of Europe experts to examine the situation in the sphere of the protection of human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities. In view of the ethnically very diverse structure of the inhabitants of the Central European region, we have proposed that a group be sent to all countries of this area—Slovakia, Hungary, and other countries that will express an interest. Similarly as in the case of Gabcikovo, we have nothing to hide. We are convinced that such a course of action will prevent unnecessary misunderstandings from arising. We are ready to respect the conclusions of this commission, in the activity of which our experts would naturally participate. Understandably, we will demand the same approach from our partners.

[Hyklova] What significance do you attach to the future cooperation among states within the framework of the Visegrad Group and to the operation of the free trade zone, an agreement on which was recently signed in Krakow?

[Knazko] In spite of certain specific national features and differences, all countries of this group are essentially trying to tackle the same problem common to all of them—the problem of transition from totalitarianism in politics and central planning in the economy toward political pluralism and a market economy. A very important cohesive factor is the desire of all these countries to gain admission into the EC and full integration into European structures. I believe that all these facts predetermine the Visegrad Group to play an important role in the future.

In a situation when internal problems in the EC countries are aggravating, their economic situation is worsening, and the speed of integration processes is slowing down, the future of the Visegrad Group member countries will to a great extent depend on their ability to reach agreement and coordinate their steps toward the EC. The Visegrad Group represents an appropriate forum for such activity.

Details of Presidential Election Announced

LD2101134493 Prague CTK in English 1310 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Prague, Jan 21 (CTK)—The Slovak National Council (parliament) set the 13th session of parliament, which will elect the Slovak president in the parliament building on Zupni Square, for January 26 at 1300, CTK has learnt from the Slovak parliament's press department.

The session will continue on January 28 at 1000 in the hall of the Slovak Philharmony (Reduta). The result of the election will then be declared and the president-elect will take the oath of office.

Unless the president is elected in the first round of balloting, a repeat election will take place January 27 at 1000, according to the press department.

Law on Slovak Information Service Passed

LD2101163693 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1400 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Today, deputies of the National Council of the Slovak Republic approved the law on the Slovak Information Service [SIS]. It is a state body that fulfils tasks in the protection of the constitutional system, internal order, and security of state. In fulfilling these tasks it proceeds from the Constitution and binding legal regulations. The SIS director is appointed and recalled at the government's proposal by the president.

The deputies also approved the amendment to the law on the registration of births, marriages, and deaths, according to which births, marriages, and deaths of Slovak Republic citizens on the territory of foreign states are recorded in a special register.

At the proposal of Justice Minister Katarina Tothova, the 12th meeting of the parliament approved almost 100 new judges of the Slovak Republic.

Response to Edict on Illegal Housing Takeovers

AU2101182693 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 15 Jan 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Zuzana Pemova: "Where Is My Home?"]

[Excerpts] Kosice—The Usti nad Labem municipal authorities are following in the footsteps of Jirkov township near Chomutov as they adopt and begin to implement the edict that caused so much uproar in such a brief period of time. The problem is that on the basis of this edict, all families that are illegally occupying housing units may be evicted. It can be safely assumed that this applies principally to the Romanies, who mostly came here from eastern Slovakia, and this assumption has been confirmed.

Although the deportations have so far only affected a few families, a mass transfer of Romanies can be expected since the Usti authorities have approved 50,000 korunas for the fares. What is the opinion of the Romany representatives on the issue?

Mikulas Horvath, chairman of the Romany Civic Initiative Union in the Slovak Republic based in Kosice, responded:

"I consider the fact that Romanies are being deported from the Czech Republic—including those with permanent residence rights and jobs—to be an expression of racism. I believe that certain people are interested in creating precisely this type of situation. The governments of both republics should reflect on this problem and solve it in such a way as not to move Slovak Romanies to the Czech Republic and vice versa." [passage omitted]

According to Bozena Badalova, head of the Social Affairs Department at the Michalovce District Office, "it is not true that Romanies are being deported from the Czech Republic. They have all received a notice asking them to leave the apartments in the town that they occupied illegally." She said that nobody has been sent back, and added: "If all the Romany residents of the Czech Republic return, we will work out their social security according to the intergovernment treaties." [passage omitted]

Opposition Party Seeks 'Chairmanship' Position

AU2101125693 Prague CTK in English 1827 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] Bratislava, Jan 19 (CTK)—With the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] holding the dominant position in the country, it is necessary for the chairmanship of the Slovak Supreme Inspection Office to be held by a member of the opposition, Peter Weiss told journalists today.

Weiss, chairman of the opposition Democratic Left Party (SDL), said that the SDL has two candidates for the post, but he did not give their names.

The SDL opposes the envisaged parliament deputies' new oath, which would be incompatible with the Constitution of the Slovak Republic, Weiss stated.

First Illegal German Political Party Begins Work

LD2101163093 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1100 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] The German party, the Deutsche Partei, which is the first illegal political party in Slovakia, commenced its work in Bratislava on Monday [18 January] by holding its constitutent congress. In the report concerning the commencement of this party's activity, the Social Democratic Party Chairman Peter Nachtmann stressed that this happened despite the fact that the Interior Ministry refused to register it. It ensued from the ministry's position that the submitted petition containing thousands of citizens' signatures demanding the establishment of the party contradicts the relevant law on association in political parties and movements. Furthermore, the ministry established that a number of citizens whose names appeared on the petition have never signed it.

State Secretary Views New U.S. Foreign Policy

AU2101192593 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Jan 93 p 12

[Interview with titular State Secretary Gyula Kodolanyi, foreign policy chief adviser to the prime minister, by Jozsef Martin; place and date not given: "Gyula Kodolanyi on the Democrats' Central Europe Policy—The Clinton Team Considers the Visegrad Cooperation Sensible"]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Martin] You recently visited Washington, where you met with several influential members of the Clinton government that is to take office today. What is your impression: Will Eastern Europe be more important for the Clinton government than it was for the Bush government?

[Kodolanyi] It is difficult to answer this in one sentence. However, the first assessments on the Clinton campaign that claimed that the new president would mainly deal with domestic politics were certainly wrong. For a gifted politician, wherever he comes from, it must be obvious that this is precisely the moment when the United States cannot withdraw from world politics. My talks at the beginning of December confirmed this, and I found that the government's foreign policy team and people close to it were very well informed about our region, they recognized its special importance, and they perceived that they had to continue to pay attention to it. In fact, they actually recommend to change to a higher gear—while preserving continuity. At his Senate hearing last week, the new secretary of state emphasized continuity, namely that they had to build on the work of the previous government.

[Martin] However, what changes can be brought by Clinton's Central Europe policy if it switches to a higher gear?

[Kodolanyi] It is possible that, contrary to expectations, U.S. foreign policy will show a greater dynamism and determination in our region, partly for the reason that it is obvious that Clinton will not be able to show great results in economic and social policy overnight. As he aroused great expectations during his campaign and these needs are present in the American society, this might motivate him for a determined and fast-acting foreign policy. [passage omitted]

[Martin] Will U.S. foreign policy show a more determined attitude on the issue of Bosnia?

[Kodolanyi] I think so, yes. The departing government also made increasingly firmer statements preparing the ground for a more determined approach. It obviously would not have done this if it had not received Clinton's agreement, because it is an unwritten rule of the change of government that, in the final period, all important steps have to be coordinated with the new cabinet.

[Martin] In your view, what is the place of the Visegrad cooperation—about which we have heard many, sometimes contradictory, statements in recent days—in the U.S. foreign political attitude and in the U.S. views on Central Europe?

[Kodolanyi] The United States has supported this idea right from the beginning; it considers it strategically important and economically wise, and the Clinton government has accepted this view. When I was there, I was asked a number of times if the Visegrad group could itself draw up a proposal on an economic strategy that would help our region. We would have to coordinate a program in great detail that would specify which country has to do what and where to speed up the establishment of a healthy market economy. This is precisely why I considered the statements of Czech Prime Minister Klaus unfounded when he said that this group was unviable. We simply have to recognize the fact that today the Visegrad group is one of the realities of international politics. [passage omitted]

[Martin] When and in what cases do U.S. politicians, including the Democrats that are to take office, consider Hungarian foreign policy to be good?

[Kodolanyi] The question cannot really be conditional because the current views on the Antall government's foreign policy are positive. In addition, the Hungarian prime minister, through his not very spectacular style, achieved in two and a half years that he is clearly considered to be the politician with the broadest vision in the region and his views definitely are important. Therefore, we have to continue our way. Now and in recent months, the dangers have been emerging mainly in the sense whether the moderate and open Hungarian attitude that was manifested in the implementation of democratic changes will be able to adequately handle the tensions that make our relations with the neighboring countries difficult, mainly because of the Hungarian minority living there. Today, one of the tasks of our foreign policy is, and I believe that we have been able to make our partners understand this, that extreme conflicts cannot break out between Hungary and its neighbors, even if our diplomatic situation is sometimes very difficult. [passage omitted]

Editorial Views Clinton's Promises

AU2101192993 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 20 Jan 93 p 1

[Editorial by Miklos Blaho: "Clinton's Promise"]

[Text] A series of feasts are being held in Washington and the United States. Two occasions coincide, and this is particularly symbolic just now. For some years now, on the third Monday of January, the United States has been remembering Martin Luther King, and the new president is inaugurated at this time every four years, strictly observing the traditional political script and alleviating the population's unquenchable thirst for spectacular shows at the same time.

The coincidence of the two occasions is symbolic because Bill Clinton gained access to the White House with the promise of extending civil and human rights. More precisely, this was one of the promises because many things were said during the campaign that were pleasing to the electorate, and George Bush was defeated in this contest. Mainly Clinton's economic and domestic political views captured the imagination of Americans and, naturally, the youthful energy and the hope of replacing the exhausted Republican government. Both Ronald Reagan and, to a lesser extent, Bush advocated the suppression of the role of the state, reliance on one's own strength, and the almightiness of private capital. While it undoubtedly reinstated America's faith in itself, also winning the cold war "in passing," the citizens felt that the weight of the United States was decreasing in the world economy, and the reason or the consequence—it makes no difference for Bush which—was the growing dominance of an inner feeling of crises, disappointment because of the lack of social provisions, and the need for change.

Bill Clinton, who is only in his forties, emerged from the shadow of almost full obscurity in this particular state of social consciousness. Together with his wife, he represents the new generation. He is educated, intelligent, sharp, hard-working, and his views on the world are different from that of his predecessors. He could not have been a veteran of World War II, but he demonstrated and protested against the interference in Vietnam. He wants to care, supports general health insurance—at the moment, some 40 million Americans do not know how to find the money for health care—better schools, and recommends more state investments. In other words, his appearance denotes a fundamental change. Although many people think that he is a conservative Democrat from the American South, his activities as Arkansas governor suggest a different attitude.

His victory indicated that the United States is turning inward and is only interested in its own problems. However, foreign political crises occupied Bush to the last days of his presidency. From Somalia to Iraq, from Bosnia to Russia, and from world trade to East Europe, Clinton will have to face dozens of diplomatic challenges. He will not be able to slacken for one minute and can be happy if the media give him the 100 days of grace in this atmosphere of tense problems. Quick decisions and wise actions are needed both domestically and abroad. Naturally, he can rely on the still strong economy and the politics of power embedded in the United Nations, which was established during the Bush era.

To govern is to assess and to choose. The Americans have put their faith in Clinton because of his promises. On the day of his swearing in as president he is facing the burden of the great errand because it is mainly up to him whether his promising personality will come up to the current trust in four years' time.

Jeszenszky Concerned Over Hungarians in Vojvodina

PM2101115693 Paris LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS in French 18 Jan 93 p 11

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Christophe Urbanowicz; date and place not given]

[Text] [Urbanowicz] Should Bosnia-Hercegovina be excluded from the UN embargo on arms imports, as Bosnia's Muslim President Alija Izetbegovic is demanding?

[Jeszenszky] I personally think that in the spirit of fair play and because the Serbs have easy access to weapons, it would be desirable to ease the arms embargo affecting the Bosnian Muslims, so that they are better able to defend themselves. This embargo is primarily penalizing the Muslims.

[Urbanowicz] Is the trade embargo decreed by the United Nations against the new Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro) still credible?

[Jeszenszky] Not really. Experience shows us that embargoes are never really effective. At first, an embargo always produces some effect, but in time a system is set up which makes it possible to circumvent the sanctions. Even if this embargo was strengthened, I do not think that it could produce the expected results given that some countries are deliberately breaking it and are turning a blind eye to flourishing smuggling operations. Hungary, for its part, has always respected the embargo on Serbia. We stand to gain from this sanction on Serbia being as effective as possible. The financial losses we have suffered from this amounted to $300 million in 1992.

[Urbanowicz] Do you think that the border between Hungary and Serbia could one day be called into question because of Vojvodina (a Serbian province in which there is a large Hungarian minority—LE QUOTIDIEN DE PARIS editor's note)?

[Jeszenszky] Hungary has no ulterior motives in this respect, because it does not have any territorial claims on neighboring countries, including Serbia. After the war, we want the Serbian-Hungarian border to become an open border, like the one between France and Germany, for instance. We will only be able to achieve that if Vojvodina Province enjoys the same rights as those which the Serbs are demanding in Croatia. I know the position of the Hungarians in Vojvodina, they are demanding autonomy—which the Serbs are refusing them—but they do not want to change the borders. Peace and stability in the new Yugoslavia still depend on the problem of all the national minorities, including the Hungarians, who live there. The international community must be very vigilant on this question, it must aim at prevention and not just passively wait for the guns to start firing....

[Urbanowicz] Are guns likely to be fired in Vojvodina?

[Jeszenszky] The Hungarians of Vojvodina are not armed, and so it is not from them that we need fear an escalation. However, there are armed forces in this province which would like to use weapons to remove the Hungarians from Vojvodina. That is a danger which should not be underestimated.

[Urbanowicz] Are you afraid that ethnic cleansing might start in Vojvodina too?

[Jeszenszky] Ethnic cleansing has already started in a way. First, around 25,000 young Hungarians have fled Vojvodina to avoid being enlisted in the Serbian-Yugoslav army. At the same time, tens of thousands of Serbian refugees have arrived in Vojvodina and there is a fear that they will no longer want to leave. Belgrade is exerting pressure on the local communities to give its Serbian refugees empty houses and apartments temporarily abandoned by the Hungarians. This is a clear attempt to change the ethnic balance. Moreover, during the last 70 years, one-fourth of the Hungarians have left Vojvodina and were immediately replaced by Serbians. If the Hungarians of Vojvodina are demanding autonomy, it is because they feel threatened by the Serbs. Recently, I learned that the Serbian authorities have just banned the use of Hungarian names in Vojvodina. This has affected the Novy Sad television station because its logo containing the two names Ujvidek (in Hungarian) and Novy Sad (in Serbo-Croat) has been banned. I am afraid that the pressures on the Hungarians will increase considerably, and this could increase the tension in Vojvodina.

Officials View Border Issue With Romania

AU2101191993 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 20 Jan 93 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Affairs Committee deputy chairmen Gyorgy Csoti of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and Istvan Hegedus of the Federation of Young Democrats, by Katalin Karcagi; place and date not given: "Do We Need a Parliamentary Position on the Borders?"]

[Text] Hungarian foreign policy has failed so far to clearly declare that it does not think that the issue of Hungarian minorities can be solved by means of border modifications and that it does not endeavor to change Hungary's borders either by force or by peaceful means. Former Foreign Ministry State Secretary Ferenc Somogyi wrote this in his recent article summing up Hungarian foreign policy. The former Foreign Ministry official added that all this should be formulated in a parliamentary declaration binding upon both the present and future Hungarian governments. We asked the opinion of two Foreign Affairs Committee deputy chairmen, Gyorgy Csoti and Istvan Hegedus, about this proposal and about the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty. If Romania guarantees the national minority rights of the Hungarian population in this basic treaty, there will be no obstacles hindering Hungary's commitment to renounce the modification of the borders once and for all, Gyorgy Csoti said. According to Istvan Hegedus, the expression "renounce" cannot be included in the text of the basic treaty for several reasons.

[Csoti] I also believe that national and ethnic issues cannot be solved by means of border modifications, either in the Carpathian Basin or in the entire Central European region. Only a united Europe can offer a final solution. However, one cannot exclude the modification of borders from the outset, because a possible conflict can thus be solved at least partially in a given area. For example, we can envisage a border modification in the disintegrating Yugoslavia, of course only if all the sides agree on this.

[Karcagi] The obstacle to the signing of the Hungarian-Romanian basic treaty is that Romania sticks to its demand that Hungary's willingness to renounce the border modification should be included in the document. However, given the fact that the observance of the existing borders is included in the Helsinki Final Act also signed by us, the Hungarian Government rejects the aforementioned demand.

[Csoti] In my opinion, if Romania guarantees the national minority rights of the Hungarian population there in the basic treaty and it is ready to provide personal cultural and territorial autonomy, there will be no obstacle hindering Hungary from renouncing the idea of border modifications once and for all. However, I must add that it would be definitely sufficient to mention the Helsinki principles in our bilateral treaty; we do not understand why this solution used by the European countries in their bilateral treaties is not accepted by the Romanian side. The Romanian position is particularly strange in view of the fact that Romania refuses to make such a declaration in its future treaty with Ukraine. In other words, Romania does not oblige others to recognize the borders once and for all, and it is also well known that Romania would like Moldova to decide in favor of unification.

[Hegedus] I regard the formulation of such a parliamentary declaration as a sympathetic idea but, in my opinion, it would lack any effect if there was not a broad national consensus behind it. This also means the need to ask the opinion of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR], the organization that represents the interests of Hungarians in Romania. We should find the adequate psychological moment for the adoption of such a declaration and, in my opinion, the current state of our bilateral relations is not really suitable for this. A lot should have to improve in our relations for the Hungarian Parliament to adopt such a declaration and for both the Hungarian and Romanian societies to also accept this gesture. This could perhaps ease the historical tensions, but it could also carry the danger that the nationalists in Romania might regard this as a trick and a manipulation. The forces currently in power in Romania express strongly anti-Hungarian views. Such a declaration in itself would not lead to a breakthrough in our bilateral relations, and both the people in Hungary and the Hungarians in Romania might also regard it as a unilateral, naive, and useless gesture. Moreover, many people among the Hungarian minority might think that we have abandoned them. Of course, such a declaration could help if there were only sober considerations in the Hungarian-Romanian relations. However, too many historical offenses have accumulated on this issue, and as a result, one cannot hope for overnight improvement. In my opinion, we need diplomatic small steps. For a long time, the Federation of Young Democrats has been urging the Hungarian Government to negotiate without preconditions on the opening of new border crossing areas, the Bolyai University, and the broadening of bilateral economic relations. I think we should first agree on the text of the basic treaty, and the adoption of the aforementioned declaration would come after that.

[Karcagi] Could we include in the basic treaty that Hungary renounces the modification of its borders?

[Hegedus] We should find a formula that cannot be interpreted in a way that, although it does not endeavor to carry out a forced border correction, Hungary nevertheless would secretly prefer a border modification by peaceful means. At the same time, the aforementioned formulation should not exceed the principles of the Helsinki Final Act too much because, in my opinion, nowhere should it appear that Hungary "renounces" the border modification. On one hand, this expression would suggest that Hungary has had territorial demands so far. On the other hand, such a formulation would obviously hurt many people, including the exalted national feelings of the Hungarians. By all means, we must avoid a situation in which a possibly debated treaty incites social emotions or becomes part of the election campaign.

Slovakia Said 'Unwilling' To Compromise on Bos

AU2001203393 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 16 Jan 93 pp 1, 3

[Interview with academician Gabor Vida, leader of the Hungarian delegation at trilateral talks in Bratislava, by Tibor Kis in Budapest; date not given: "The Water Is Only Dribbling Into the Danube"]

[Text] Contradictory news emerged from the trilateral expert talks on the Bos issue held in Bratislava on 14 January. We interviewed the leader of the Hungarian delegation, Gabor Vida, on the unclear points after his return to Hungary.

[Kis] Is it at all possible to see any progress on the Bos issue?

[Vida] Unfortunately, the Slovak side is unwilling to make any concessions.

[Kis] Does this mean that the stance of the new Slovak state is exactly the same as the CSFR's at its dissolution at the end of last year?

[Vida] I do not know if the information on the Thursday [14 January] talks has been published yet. Those EC representatives present most firmly—so to speak—reprimanded the Slovak partners because, in their view, it is not a negotiating method to submit the same proposals in written form with a January date which had already been deemed unacceptable at the Brussels talks in December. In fact, they only made stylistic changes to the original text.

[Kis] We had information that the Slovaks then made an offer to return half of the original amount of water.

[Vida] They have never offered 50 percent. In fact, our partners have always mentioned a fixed amount, namely 400 cubic meters per second. This means an average of 20 percent per year.

[Kis] Are they still sticking to this proposal?

[Vida] Yes, this is part of their offer for the negotiations. However, in London, we already signed a document on the provision of 95 percent of the water.

[Kis] It is a different question that 95 percent is supposed to be technically impossible.

[Vida] The 95 percent can be solved in one way only, by dismantling the structures built after the unilateral decision. We have drawn up a detailed proposal on this. In addition, all of this can be done in two months. Therefore, there is a solution if there is the will. If they do not want to dismantle the structures, we have also shown them how it is possible to provide enough water through the already completed structures to avoid an ecological catastrophe in Hungary.

[Kis] There is the view that it would be impossible to let more than 400 to 600 cubic meters of water per second through these structures even if they wanted to.

[Vida] In addition to the four-gate sluice gate, there is also a 20-gate one—some of the gates of the latter have already been completed and the erosion problems in the area below it has also been dealt with. In Bratislava on 14 January, our partners acknowledged that, if it was very necessary, they would be able to provide the requested amount of water—even as much as 1,500 cubic meters.

[Kis] Have you indeed agreed on establishing a joint Danube observation system?

[Vida] The EC made a proposal on this. We hope that, if there is an agreement that has to be observed, then this system will be established.

[Kis] Did you discuss the implementation of the London agreement in Bratislava?

[Vidda] The Slovak side has made some suggestions that could question the London agreement's validity. It seems that our partners are using delaying tactics because they feel that the issue would take an unfavorable turn for them if it were taken to The Hague International Court.

[Kis] Would we agree to Slovakia producing electricity in the Bos power station until The Hague decision is made, provided that we can agree on the supply of water that is necessary for us?

[Vida] Electricity has been produced at Bos ever since the Danube was diverted. The Slovak side wants to use the water to produce the maximum amount of electricity and it is only letting some water dribble into the old Danube out of charity. It seems that the Slovaks are being financially constrained to produce electricity to reduce their costs.

[Kis] However, time is pressing us because of the conditions at the Szigetkoz area. What will happen without water once the vegetative period begins?

[Vida] On the long run, we would need the entire amount of water that we had in the past. In the short term, that is for one or a maximum of two vegetative periods, it is possible that we could make do with 70 percent of the water through various strategems.

[Kis] What is the role of the EC in the negotiations?

[Vida] The EC has clearly indicated that, in its view, in order to achieve a compromise, the Slovaks would have to move away from their current rigid stance. On 14 January, the EC representatives expressed their astonishment and condemnation because the Slovak side had not proposed any new compromise solutions. As a quasi-warning, the EC representative indicated to the Slovaks that the EC saw no point in continuing its mediation if they will not move from their current stance. This would cause a serious loss of international prestige for the Slovaks.

[Kis] You were also taken to the dam on Thursday. What did you see?

[Vida] The sight was astonishing, mainly for the EC experts. They did not expect to find this amount of damage to the environment and nature. It was also confirmed for us that there were no obstacles in principle to supplying the water in the indicated way.

[Kis] What damage was caused by the last flooding at Bos?

[Vida] A new river bed has been formed since November under the 20-gate flood gate. It is an astonishing sight. People who had never been here before thought that this was the original bed. The river had cut a new bed for itself on a huge and wide area. It is surprising how much power the river has—and this was not a very big flood.

Russia Postpones Treaty Ratification

LD2101231493 Budapest MTI in English 2039 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 21 (MTI)—It was for formal reasons that the Russian Parliament on Thursday [21 January] postponed ratifying the Russian-Hungarian Basic Treaty, signed on December 6, 1991, but by no means called into question the relations between the two countries, Russian President Boris Yeltsin assured Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall by telephone on Thursday afternoon.

The Russian Parliament had never endorsed any treaty on the first occasion, Yeltsin added.

During their 30-minute telephone conversation, Antall and Yeltsin reviewed implementation of the bilateral agreements signed in Budapest on November 11, the prime minister's press office reported. They stated that debt repayment went as scheduled, but the extent of interest payment had not been decided as yet. Antall's proposal for a 3.5 per cent interest was accepted by Yeltsin.

The listing of products for military technology deliveries shows good progress.

The Hungarian-Russian minority protection declaration has met with a highly favourable response at home and abroad, and the 1956 documents brought by Yeltsin to Budapest will be published soon.

The two sides noted with satisfaction that the value of last year's trade exceeded USD [U.S. dollars] 2.5 billion, a rise of 3-4 per cent over the previous year.

In meeting humanitarian obligations, Hungary has provided close to USD 5 million worth of medicine to the Russian Army, for which Yeltsin expressed his special thanks.

Military Cooperation Accord Signed With Slovenia

LD2101230993 Budapest MTI in English 2009 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 21 (MTI)—A protocol on cooperation between the Hungarian and Slovenian Defence Ministries for 1993 was signed on Thursday [21 January] in Budapest by leading ministry officials, Defence Ministry spokesman Lieutenant-Colonel Lajos Erdelyi told MTI.

A Slovenian delegation, headed by Deputy Defence Minister Albin Guttmann, is currently in Budapest on a three-day visit (Jan. 20-22), at the invitation of Deputy Defence Ministry Secretary of State Rudolf Joo.

The cooperation accord calls for consultation on security policy matters, for exchange of observers to inspect military exercises, and for mutual visits to barracks along the Hungarian-Slovenian border.

Government Backs Visegrad Cooperation

LD2101233493 Budapest MTI in English 2112 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 21 (MTI)—While the Hungarian Government has no intention to institutionalize the Visegrad cooperation scheme, it considers it important to maintain this effective mechanism, which, it believes, will continue to assist the member countries' integration in Europe, runs a statement issued by the Hungarian Government late on Thursday [21 January] evening.

The government's press office addressed the question in view of the several misunderstandable statements and commentaries that have recently appeared in the press in connection with the Visegrad group.

The Hungarian Government regards the Visegrad group as a loose cooperation framework, which have promoted the conclusion of Hungary's association agreement with the European Community, as well as its rapprochement to NATO, the Western European Union and other international organizations.

At present, the Visegrad cooperation provides a framework for preparing the ground for full EC membership. This end is to be served also by the free-trade agreement signed on December 21, 1992, which offers conditions identical with those of the EC in economic and trade relations between the member countries.

Two Yugoslav Soldiers Violate Border

LD2001091593 Budapest MTI in English 0840 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Budapest, January 20 (MTI)—Two armed soldiers in uniform violated Hungary's border near Szeged Tuesday [19 January] afternoon, Hungarian Border Guard reported.

The two soldiers, armed with machine guns, entered Hungary's territory from Yugoslavia 150 metres deep at the village of Morahalom, near Szeged, at 4.15 pm Tuesday, Hungarian Border Guard spokesman Attila Krisan reported on Wednesday.

The soldiers, obviously drunk, forced two Hungarian passers-by to hand over food. To emphasize the demand, they fired three shots into the ground. After the 20-minute incident, the soldiers returned to Yugoslavia, Krisan said.

There was no border guard on the spot at the time, he added.

The Hungarian Border Guard informed UN observers in Hungary and the Hungarian Foreign Ministry of the incident immediately.

Foreign Minister Views Role of Democratic Forum

AU2101174793 Budapest PESTI HIRLAP in Hungarian 16 Jan 93 p 4

["Z.Sz."-signed interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky; place and date not given: "Before the National Meeting—Shaken Self-Confidence Is Restored—We Can Rely on Europe"]

[Text] We asked Geza Jeszenszky for a brief interview not so much in his capacity as foreign minister but as an important politician.

[PESTI HIRLAP] In your view, what are the main tasks of the forthcoming national meeting of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF]? Do you think that the party will be "put back into shape" by the time the elections come?

[Jeszenszky] This meeting will be more important than other meetings and different from them. Both the MDF and the government need to do some assessments and self-analysis. The MDF has gone through a serious illness, but I hope that this will strengthen it like a vaccine. The MDF's membership and its supporters found themselves in an entirely new situation when this party arose to a governing role from an almost permanent opposition role since the Kuruts [insurrectionist soldiers fighting against Habsburg empire in 17th century] traditions. Those supporting the other side also have a role in the MDF supporters' loss of confidence. However, the MDF will be able to find an answer to its internal debates and the issues raised by social problems. The MDF did not promise an easy way, it was aware and it never denied that it had received a heavy heritage, but its situation has also been hindered by unexpected obstacles. We knew that Aristotle was right to a certain extent in saying that "it is easier to be captive than to be free." Freedom is concomitant with responsibility and certain sacrifices. I hope that the MDF's membership and delegates will face the difficulties and their reasons, and they will find the remedies. There is a lot at stake, and in my view, only the continuation of the politics of calm force can bring satisfying solutions.

[PESTI HIRLAP] The neighboring countries are in an even more difficult situation than we are and disappointment characterizes the whole region. In this situation, is there any hope to preserve peace in the region and to foster good-neighborly relations?

[Jeszenszky] Perhaps, the title of a poem by Ady characterizes the atmosphere best: "The Sadness of Resurrection." It is a fact that the situation of the whole region is worse than a year ago, especially because the international community was unable to cope with the south Slav crisis. Everywhere, the transition brought about new and unexpected situations. These difficulties can only be overcome through cooperation, joint work, great efforts, and enduring patience. The method of trying to find scapegoats and diverting the attention is another, comfortable way, but this can only be successful in the short term and can only bring phony results. However, I do not think that Hungary's security situation is worrisome, as long as it preserves its domestic stability. I am convinced that a constitutional and democratic Hungary will not be exposed to foreign aggression and that it can rely on the support of the United Nations and the European countries. Should there be any provocations, we must answer them with dignity and calm, preserving our temperance in all situations. Hungary proves through actions that it stands for close cooperation and integration among the peoples of Central and Eastern Europe, and this is how it envisions it will join the process of European unity that began in the West after World War II.

Fur Views Defense Tasks, MDF Prospects

AU2001152593 Budapest KOZTARSASAG in Hungarian 15 Jan 93 pp 50-54

[Interview with Defense Minister Lajos Fur, executive chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF), by KOZTARSASAG correspondents Peter Forro and Denes Papp; place and date not given: "To Defeat the Trivial Tones"]

[Text] According to Defense Minister Lajos Fur, we must do away with the contradiction inherent in the fact that, on the one hand, we want to spend increasingly less on the Army, while on the other hand we are afraid of the dangers that are threatening us. The solution is to create an efficient army by adjusting to real circumstances. Lajos Fur regards the debates within the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] as useless, rather than extremist. In his view, the conflict is not primarily an ideological one, but derives from the proposed methods. In his interview with our correspondents Peter Forro and Denes Papp, Lajos Fur said that he expected the coming MDF national conference to deal primarily with issues that concern the Hungarian public at large, rather than internal issues.

[KOZTARSASAG] It has been repeatedly mentioned that the Hungarian Republic needs a new defense doctrine and a more modern, more efficient and, if you like, more professional Army. However, all this can only be achieved if the Army also gets modern military technology. What about the Army reorganization process?

[Fur] At present, we have concepts and ideas on the creation of a small but efficient Army equipped with modern weapons. However, the implementation of these ideas will take time, because this primarily needs money. Although the reduction in personnel will release some funds or budget sums, this can only be carried out if this smaller Army is also efficient. In other words, this Army must be equipped with modern defensive weapons. All this is only a temporary concept, because implementation will probably be delayed until the second half of this decade. The Army General Staff has prepared a development concept on the basis of which we will have to work out a more specific plan or program. This concept assumes that the major phase of the new development program will be started sometime between 1995 and 1996, and the period in which we can really replace the obsolete technology with Western technology will probably end in the next two five-year cycles, between 2001-2005 and 2010.

[KOZTARSASAG] It seems that, while universal conscription is firmly maintained, the professional soldier has become the ideal model in the Hungarian Army....

[Fur] We are trying to advance a little, as much as our possibilities allow us to do so. Modern technology requires fully trained people who can operate this equipment automatically, almost by reflex. All this cannot be expected from a conscript who serves 12 months in the Army, because people with various educational and training levels are conscripted into the Army. In other words, our goal is to have trained people to operate extremely valuable equipment. However, this is not yet the case everywhere and, therefore, we will also train the conscripts to operate such equipment, because this is the only way we can guarantee their operation in the case of a possible mobilization of the reserves. We introduced the contractual military status in the Hungarian Army last year; this means that we sign a contract for several years with experts to operate high technology, such as air-defense missiles, or even to drive tanks. We wanted to employ 2,000 professionals in 1992 but, unfortunately, the remuneration was not attractive enough to fill the planned quota. We have slightly increased the payment this year and the situation has improved somewhat, also because of rampant unemployment in Hungary. We want to increase our contract personnel further in the future.

[KOZTARSASAG] What about the oft-mentioned purchase of technology? What will the business agreements with Germany, the United States, and Russia bring to the Hungarian Army?

[Fur] We only receive spare parts from the Germans, and they are now engaged in evaluating their stored equipment and in deciding what to discard and what is useful for us. The agreement on how to hand over these spare parts will follow after this inventory. It is certain that this will help us a lot, because the supply of spare parts has been one of our biggest problems in the past two years. It has become almost impossible to guarantee the steady supply of spare parts since the dismantling of the Warsaw Pact, the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and the events in the Soviet Union. Given the fact that 80-90 percent of our military technology is of Soviet origin, it is vital for us to purchase an adequate amount of East German spare parts.

The other equipment, the IFF, or the friend-or-foe identification system used in combat aircraft, is not of this kind. We received 1.1 billion forints from the 1991 budget to purchase this equipment. The U.S. Government provided guarantees for this transaction by which these systems will be installed in the aircraft of the Hungarian Air Force. The contract has been signed, so the installation process will probably commence this year.

Negotiations on the purchase of Russian weapons have just begun, along with the supply of spare parts. I recently held talks with the Russian deputy premier, who is also one of the people in charge of foreign economic relations, but it is still difficult to tell what the final results will be. We very much hope that it will be possible to commute Russia's $800 million debt into the supply of spare parts or even weapons.

[KOZTARSASAG] One can see a strange duality in Hungarian public life and Hungarian public opinion. Many people say that, in addition to reducing the Army personnel, we should also reduce the funds allocated for defense. At the same time, there is an understandable fear, because of the crisis situation in Central-Eastern Europe. What is your opinion about Hungary's defense capability today?

[Fur] First of all, we should eliminate this contradiction, namely the need to create a small Army with little money and, on the other side, the fear of what could hit us. We must eliminate this contradiction by realistically considering the circumstances that have emerged around us and thinking about realistic development projects adjusted to these circumstances. However, an immediate development involving large sums of money is impossible; nor is it necessary. However, we need to create an efficient Army adequate to a state of threat; in other words, a normally-operating, efficient, and steadily modernizing Army, along with the creation of airborne and rapid reaction smaller subunits aimed at repelling possible threats. Thus, to be able easily to repel a threatening danger, such as a minor local conflict or border violation, we need to modernize certain units, rather than reorganize the whole Army, because no one in Hungary should fear a large-scale frontal attack. However, we do have to fear the aforementioned threats, and we must prepare for them, and this costs money.

[KOZTARSASAG] Do you think that the Defense Ministry would have more support even in Parliament if the minister in charge were not in one of the highest positions in the largest governing party?

[Fur] I do not think so. Compared with the autumn of 1990 and the first half of 1991, the support provided for the Defense Ministry is not bad. A considerable change has also taken place among the opposition parties. I must say that, even if not everyone, a considerable number of our politicians are seriously aware of the changes that have taken place over the past year or two, changes that also require an Army capable of dealing with, solving, and neutralizing the aforementioned smaller conflicts.

[KOZTARSASAG] In other words, the fact that you are also the executive chairman of the MDF is not a disadvantage?

[Fur] No. Besides, I have never taken a stand on defense issues in my capacity as an MDF official, but I always knew that defense was an overall national affair, and I always tried to engage in politics accordingly.

[KOZTARSASAG] The MDF started with a program that also hinted at the possibility that it would come to an agreement with the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] for the benefit of a peaceful transition, and the MDF can perhaps thank its election victory to this, because another party that was more firmly anticommunist at the time did not get closer to the government. You became the head of a ministry that was one of those most committed to the previous regime. Has this caused any conflicts? It obviously must have. How did you deal with this conflict?

[Fur] Yes. More than 80 percent of Hungarian officers were party members, and this in itself shows the extent of commitment. However, the way I see it, this change, the new spirit, and the process of democratization are gaining ground in Hungarian public opinion and public life, the national issue is again taking its place, and all this has had a considerable effect on Army officers and our professional personnel. All of them are citizens with our Hungarian mother tongue and are members of the same nation, and perhaps they also felt this when their military commitment was still different. That commitment had disappeared, and when we got here, we very clearly spoke out about our intention to dismantle the Warsaw Pact and our goal of national independence. This obviously strengthened the new commitment in them, at least in those who were ready for this. Some of those who were not ready for this left. Unfortunately, almost 9,000 officers and warrant officers have left the Army in the past two years, among them people who chose different professions because of subsistence problems. Those who remained with us passed through a serious internal catharsis. Many of them believed in the former ideology and felt it was real and, in discarding it now, they had to acquire a totally different national thinking. This was not easy, but the quick dismantling of the Warsaw Pact, the quick withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and the fact that we were left alone here helped in all this. The Army is now increasingly aware that no other body can fulfill this important role, a role that the Army must fulfill in the life of every normal nation and state, namely to defend the community. This awareness has now largely penetrated most of our professional personnel.

[KOZTARSASAG] As a minister, you obviously know how to deal with these conflicts. However, as party chairman, you will have a major task to deal with the problems that might also cause problems to the defense minister (such as with negotiations in Romania, for example). What we mean is that extremist voices have also increased considerably in your party, too.

[Fur] I rather feel that there are useless debates within the party, but I would not call them extremist debates; I would rather say that there are different opinions on both evaluating the serious domestic political situations and dealing with such situations. There are people who think that more radical measures and methods should be used in order to deal with the really serious domestic problems deriving from the economic restructuring and the slow restructuring of the Hungarian society. Others claim that this is not the solution, but we should rather guarantee even greater independence in which workers manage themselves.

[KOZTARSASAG] This other extreme does not appear within the party.

[Fur] Not so starkly. According to the liberal concept, we should not interfere in these processes to such an extent, particularly not at a government or parliamentary level; instead, we should guarantee a slow and gradual restructuring, because this would solve the current problems and the existing contradictions. There is a difference of opinion on this, as well as on another thing, namely the possibility of the national power to play a role. In other words, the extent of the flow of foreign capital into Hungary is the other area in which there are differences of opinions on the methods and on the concepts.

According to one concept, the 70 percent share of foreign capital in the privatized Hungarian economy is almost anti-national, so we cannot implement our great program of creating a strong national bourgeoisie. The other concept claims that this 70 percent is not enough, and it should be bigger, because the projects remain in Hungary, and whatever they produce will enrich and enhance the country, along with the creation of jobs at a time when unemployment is extremely high. We should find a normal balance between the two concepts, because there are areas that need firmness and other areas that need a level of independence that is generally characteristic of Europe. In fact, these two concepts could come closer to each other, and I hope this will happen, and then the MDF will also overcome its current internal crisis.

Some people claim that our government is not radical and firm enough. This results from the fact that, unfortunately, although there are very good or adequate laws, we were unable to take care of their implementation in some areas. In other words, the problem is with their implementation, and both negative and positive examples can be found in this area, because we were unable to create the institutions and bodies that would guarantee that the laws are observed and enforced. This was simple in the past, because an order was issued from above, and this order ran through the party and the state apparatus. This does not work today. Let me give you an example. People with totally different interests, like the heads of the agricultural cooperatives, are instrumental in implementing the law on agricultural cooperatives. It is incorrect to use people who are affected by these laws to implement them. We must create an institution that will guarantee that the laws are indeed implemented honestly.

[KOZTARSASAG] In your opinion, will these three trends continue side by side within one party for a long time?

[Fur] They have gone on side by side for years, and I do not know why they should not be able to coexist. Why should they not be able to exist if we achieve harmony between the more radical and the more liberal policy and a proportional representation of national policy and foreign forces in the economy, society, and politics.

[KOZTARSASAG] This is a difference in both methods and ideology.

[Fur] Is there a populist or national ideology at all? Is there a well formulated liberal ideology in Hungary at all? This has past elements. However, 19th century liberalism cannot be used in Hungary today, at the end of the 20th century. Who has made an attempt to work out the meaning of the system of liberal ideas here today? What is the meaning of the system of Christian-democratic ideas or the system of populist-national ideas here today? This has emerged in a different situation, in a totally different historical period, and the movement of the populist writers between the two world wars was the essence of these ideas. However, is the situation in Hungary today the same as in those times? It is radically different. Christian democracy is European, but this idea does not really have a tradition in Hungary. There was a short period of time after World War II when something similar began to emerge, but only to emerge. This had a tradition in the West, and such political parties, ideologies, regimes, or whatever we call them had decades of tradition in the West.

[KOZTARSASAG] Can we expect a reconciliation within the party before the coming national meeting, and do you expect this national meeting to clarify these issues?

[Fur] In my opinion, things should be definitely clarified before the national meeting, and I think that the latest extremely long presidium meetings were all forums for clarifying the difference of opinions. The positions generally got closer to one another, albeit not in everything, and they will become manageable. At least, I very much hope they will. Indeed, the national meeting will have the task of clarifying issues concerning MDF members, and not only them but also Hungarian public opinion, at another level. The meeting should primarily deal with these issues.

[KOZTARSASAG] Did the tactical step that eliminated the positions of deputy chairmen also serve the party to make a tabula rasa?

[Fur] Yes, exactly so.

[KOZTARSASAG] Can we expect the separation of the position of prime minister from the position of party chairman?

[Fur] I do not think these positions will separate, because there is no need for this. This is a generally accepted

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practice, and I hope the national meeting will also think so. There is no need whatsoever to change this practice.

[KOZTARSASAG] What kind of MDF do you envisage for 1993?

[Fur] In 1993, I envisage a less bitter MDF, with fewer complaints, an MDF that will again find its way back to the mood prevalent in 1988 and 1989, also among radically different conditions, an MDF more interested in everyone finding the proper ways of action. In other words, we should not only deal with complaints and things that failed. These things are also important, but we should rather think of ways to change these by simultaneously observing the requirements of democracy, law, and parliamentarism everywhere and on all levels. Only then will we have a chance of running in the next elections scheduled for 1994 with the same opportunities and hopes we had in 1990.

[KOZTARSASAG] Whether you win or lose the next elections scheduled for 1994, there was once a historian-journalist in Hungary called Lajos Fur, a simple Army man, who got into a position which he probably did not want very much. How do you envisage your own future?

[Fur] I would very much like to live in peace, even if I have to continue my life as a politician. My approach to my fate has always been the following: I will do everything necessary wherever fate puts me. Given that I am a presbyterian, I have repeatedly said that I believe in predestination. I believe that I have a predestined fate. I do not have to think too much about what I should do and when, because fate will always tell me which direction to take and what my choices are. Of course, sometimes time offers several things, and then one really has to choose. However, it just happens that I have hardly ever decided myself on what I must do in politics. Not when I was a candidate for the position of president of the republic, nor when I became defense minister. This is what I had to do. I do not know what the years 1993 and 1994 have in store for me, for us, and for all the Hungarians in the Carpathian Basin. There are dangers that are threatening this community, including every individual, myself too, but there is some hope, and there are some choices too. I always say that it depends on us whether the dangers or the choices will have the better chance. If we do everything possible, create peace, and preserve stability in this country and if we are able to overcome the trivial tone that is spreading in Hungarian public life, and if there is enough self- discipline to do all this, I think that we will perhaps succeed in avoiding the dangers and strengthening our stability.

Ziolkowski, Zakrzewski Talk With Yeltsin Adviser

WS2101133093 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 1946 GMT 19 Jan 93

["Meeting of S. Stankevich in the Office of the President of the Republic of Poland"—SERWIS INFORMACYJNY headline]

[Text] In the office of the president of the Republic of Poland, meetings have been held by Minister of State Janusz Ziolkowski and Undersecretary of State Andrzej Zakrzewski with Sergey Stankevich, political adviser to President Boris Yeltsin. The meetings discussed the need to work out a new form of contacts between the presidents of Poland and Russia, as well as setting up a Consultative Committee of experts appointed by both leaders.

The talks also dealt with Polish-Russian relations, the foundations of which should be based on overcoming the past and on historical truth. The men also touched on the issue of protecting the cemeteries of Polish officers murdered in Katyn and in other camps. Referring to the treaty between our two countries, which was signed last year, they also discussed the role of the Historical Committee in the context of cultural heritage, and its significance to the process of the two nations getting to know each other. The talks also dealt with the problem of contacts and border-area cooperation, especially in Kaliningrad Oblast.

The date for a possible visit by President Boris Yeltsin to Poland, and the issues to be discussed during the visit, were also discussed. According to S. Stankevich, the Russian side thinks that the best date for the visit would be between spring and summer.

Stankevich on Visit Results

LD2101222993 Warsaw PAP in English 1930 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 21—Sergey Stankevich, the political advisor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, expressed his satisfaction over the results of his four-day visit to Poland paid at the invitation of the Federation of Katyn Families.

Apart from meeting the Katyn families, Stankevich also held a series of talks with Polish officials aimed at preparing President Yeltsin's visit to Poland which Stankevich thought should take place by the middle of the year.

The talks also focused on cooperation between the two countries' parliaments and in combatting international crime.

During his visit Stankevich met Deputy Prime Minister Pawel Laczkowski, Sejm Speaker Wieslaw Chrzanowski and Poland's Primate Cardinal Jozef Glemp.

At a press conference ending his visit to Poland Stankevich stated that Russian-Polish relations had good prospects now "since people who lost their relatives in Katyn and other extermination sites are ready to stretch hand to the new democratic Russia".

According to Stankevich the fact that Yeltsin's visit to Poland will focus on economic issues is the evidence of the normalization of relations between the two countries.

President Lech Walesa Thursday [21 January] handed Stankevich his personal letter to President Boris Yeltsin.

Correspondents Briefed on Talks

LD2101173393 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1105 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] The three-day visit to Poland by Sergey Stankevich, political adviser to the Russian president, is coming to an end. Krystyna Koziol has this report from her news conference.

[Koziol] Minister Stankevich began by saying that he has been visiting Poland at the invitation of the Federation of Katyn Families. The most important task for me was to discuss Katyn, how to solve this matter in an appropriate and moral way; how, together, we can try to emerge from the shadows of Katyn in order to facilitate our relations in the future. This is what Sergey Stankevich had to say:

[Begin Stankevich recording in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] I have held meetings on Katyn mainly in Moscow and I was nervously expecting this meeting with the Federation of Katyn Families in Warsaw. People from all over Poland took part in this meeting. The words of one person who lost a relative in Katyn made the greatest impression on me. He said: There is a grief within us but there is no hatred. If people, who for years have been suffering the tragedy of the loss of someone close are saying this, President Yeltsin's adviser said, and they are able to make advances to new democratic Russia, then this is a chance for our relations in the future.

Meetings in Warsaw between Minister Stankevich and official representatives of the president, the government, and members of parliament concerned President Yeltsin's forthcoming visit to Poland. This visit will take place in the next few months. Both presidents will sign many agreements that are very important for Polish-Russian cooperation. Mainly economic matters will be discussed. Minister Stankevich will take a letter from President Walesa to President Yeltsin. The forthcoming Russian president's visit to Poland will be preceeded by a visit by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. At that time, the final agenda of President Yeltsin's visit will be formulated.

Belarus Helicopter Violates Border 15 Jan

LD2001173993 Warsaw PAP in English 1639 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Biala Podlaska, Jan. 20—A Belarusian helicopter violated the Polish frontier in the eastern province of Biala Podlaska on January 15, Captain Jan Markowski of the local border guards announced on Wednesday [13 January]. Information has neither been confirmed nor denied by the border guards headquarters and the command in chief of the air forces. According to Markowski the helicopter, which entered Poland as far as 10 km, returned to Belarus soon after Polish radars had detected it. Polish eastern frontier was violated at least twice last autumn by Ukrainian helicopters which transferred illegal immigrants.

Kaczynski To Have Evidence Against Wachowski

WS2001133093 Warsaw SIS in Polish 2026 GMT 16 Jan 93

["Press Conference in Center Accord Club After the Meeting Between the Club and the Political Council"—SIS headline]

[Text]

The Center Accord Leader Claims To Be in Possession of Credible Evidence

The Center Accord Leader, Jaroslaw Kaczynski, when referring to the "charges against Wachowski," said that he was ready to present his own set of photographs and documents which would certify that the head of the president's office really used to be a collaborator of the Security Service.

"The Case of Wachowski Is a Political Matter"

According to Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the television program "Wiadomosci" did not offer television time in an objective manner that would enable both sides to present their stands. The leader of the Center Alliance said that "the case of Wachowski is a political matter, played by the state apparatus."

We Ought To Check on Everyone

In reply to the journalists' questions about whether the situation connected with the accusation against Mieczyslaw Wachowski is not a pretext to start checking officials' pasts without a constitutional right to do so, Kaczynski said that the pasts should be checked of all those who are holding high state offices and whose activities affect public life in Poland to a considerable extent.

Walesa Attacks Kaczynski Allegations

LD2001223393 Warsaw PAP in English 2150 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 20—Polish President Lech Walesa on Wednesday [20 January] launched a spirited attack on a group of right-wing politicians, including former presidential adviser Jaroslaw Kaczynski, who over a week ago accused Mieczyslaw Wachowski, the current head of the President's Office, of involvement with the former communist secret services from the mid-1970's.

In an attack on Kaczynski, who first voiced the allegations, and is likely to become involved in a court case with Wachowski over allegations of collaboration published in the book "Lewy Czerwcowe" ("The June Frauds"), President Walesa said: "We have a lousy legal system. The accused has to defend himself, while the accuser wins."

He continued: "If we follow the legal course, (...) the president and his secretary of state will have to spend two years shuttling to-and-fro, to hear about some photograph or other document." In a reference to Kaczynski, he added: "This is how someone is trying to stay on the air, to be a big politician, one who counts and who fights."

"If duelling were still allowed, perhaps that would be the best solution. I am sorry that some politicians, excellent politicians, but in another time, don't know how to lose."

Asked whether he would give evidence in any such court case, President Walesa responded with some force: "Be sensible. For 22 years I was the only man who didn't give in to the security services, do I now have to explain myself?"

Commenting on proposals to unmask former secret service agents, Walesa voiced doubts whether the matter could be justly resolved, in the light of the destruction of vital documentation. As president, he faced a dilemma: "I would like to clarify matters, with pleasure, but at the same time I know (...) about the destruction of documentation, which makes it impossible to foresee a true reckoning with the past."

Commenting on the current parliament, President Walesa regretted that the behaviour of a few Sejm (lower house) deputies cast a shadow over the work of the whole parliament. "But it would be an illusion to be confident that (early elections) and a reduction in the number of parties in parliament allow a solution to the country's problems," he noted.

The president attacked proposals recently made by Jaroslaw Kaczynski's Centre Alliance (PC) for early presidential elections. The whole nation would lose, he stressed.

Also on Wednesday, President Walesa committed himself to become more involved in the work of the Polish parliament. "I will participate in (debates on) all the important issues discussed by the Sejm," he said, after attending a meeting of the convention of senior Sejm deputies. He added that he plans to address the deputies on decree powers for the government and on his draft charter of rights and freedoms.

According to the president decree powers for the government should concern the economy, law and order, and the safety of the citizen. He admitted that he first thought of emergency powers for the Bielecki cabinet in 1991, and voiced fears that decree powers might be unsuitable for the present 7-party coalition, and may paralyse "greater deeds."

In his opinion the Charter of Citizens' Rights and Freedoms is essential to "tame the president, the parliament and the state administration".

Call for Past To Be Revealed

LD2101214893 Warsaw PAP in English 1727 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 21—Centre Alliance leader Jaroslaw Kaczynski called for casting light on the past of President Lech Walesa and said that the question whether the famous secret police agent "Bolek" and President Lech Walesa are the same person "must be answered."

Kaczynski spoke to a press conference at the Sejm on Thursday [21 January]. He declared that moral not political reasons persuade him to help clarify the matter. He also blamed Walesa for quoting statements of the chief policeman under Communism General Czeslaw Kiszczak.

This is "a symptom of helplessness, and maybe even despair in the Belweder," [as received] a new situation that must be given thought, Kaczynski said.

At the same press conference former Defence Minister under the Jan Olszewski Government Jan Parys accused the president's close associates Jerzy Milewski, Lech Falandysz, and Father Franciszek Cybula of "collaboration" with the Communist secret police SB.

Parys accused the president of supporting Communist influence in the Army and declared readiness to produce evidence that President Lech Walesa had tried to illegally buy nuclear weapons for Poland.

Suchocka Opens Discussion on Bill on Decrees

WS2101133193 Warsaw INFORMACJA PRASOWA in Polish 1516 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Speech by Polish Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka at the 19 January session of the Council of Ministers opening the discussion of the bill on entitling the Council of Ministers to issue decrees with the force of law]

[Text] Welcome, Ladies and Gentlemen. I am commencing the session of the Council of Ministers. First of all, I would like to warmly welcome Mr. President, who is taking part in today's session, and he is particularly interested in the first item on today's agenda, which is the bill on entitling the Council of Ministers to issue orders with the force of law. As it has already become a tradition in this Council of Ministers, Mr. President takes part in our sessions when truly vital matters are discussed. We have already had Mr. President as a guest at our meetings more than once, and this is what is happening today.

I assume that today the Council of Ministers will adopt the bill on issuing decrees with the force of law. The government is applying for this right on the basis of the Constitution of 17 October 1992, on mutual relationships between the legislative and executive authorities of the Republic of Poland and on regional self-government.

The government is applying to the Sejm for the right to issue such decrees for several reasons. First, the need to accelerate and make more effective the process of changing the legal regulations which determine the course of Polish economic transformations. The future of the state and the living prospects of Poles will depend on this.

Second, the need to accelerate the reform of state institutions, whose efficiency will determine the effectiveness of economic transformations, the efficiency of managing the state's property, and the modern shape of state administration.

Third, the need for a rapid adjustment of many regulations of the Polish law to the rules that are operative in the European Communities.

Because we recognize the innovative character of such a right—it has already been several years since there has been another body that had the right to issue fiats with the force of laws—we have also invited representatives of coalition clubs to the meeting. We would like them to join us in the work.

Thank you very much, Mr. President, for coming here.

Walesa Welcomes Bill

WS2101133393 Warsaw SERWIS INFORMACYJNY in Polish 0711 GMT 20 Jan 93

["President of the Republic of Poland at the Session of the Council of Ministers"—SERWIS INFORMACYJNY headline]

[Text] President of the Republic of Poland, Lech Walesa, took part in the joint session of the Council of Ministers and the leaders of coalition parties. At the session, Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka presented a bill on special privileges for the government.

Addressing the participants of the session, the president said:

"Dear Prime Minister, Dear Ladies and Gentlemen,

You have gathered here today to discuss decrees, discuss simplified means of enforcing the law. In breakthrough moments, in moments when the old regulations do not correspond to the current needs, such solutions are desirable, and even indispensable. The normal legislative path is too slow. We must not lose time. We have lost too much of it already.

I have been aware of the necessity for such solutions for a long time. I proposed them as a trade union activist. I repeated them as president. Responses to this were nervous. I was accused of dictatorial aspirations, of wanting to bury the young Polish democracy.

I yielded to public opinion. I gave up against my own conviction. I assumed that at a time when the yoke of totalitarianism is being thrown off, one must not do anything that might by perceived as an appearance of dictatorship. I painfully realized that we were losing both time and opportunity. The normal manner of enforcing law was becoming increasingly less effective. The awareness of the need to introduce decree solutions was spreading; hence, the social conviction that the country should by ruled with a strong hand. Along with this came the awareness that it is not a threat to democracy. On the contrary. It is a way to consolidate democracy. It is a way to defend it. Enhancing the effectiveness of the government, which has been formed through democratic procedures, entails greater trust in democracy. And conversely, helplessness and ineffectiveness by the executive authorities undermine the trust in democracy, are detrimental to it, and destroy it. The time of transformations is a special time. It flies faster than at other times, faster than ever.

Everyday, every moment we run a race with social awareness, with human endurance, patience, and steadfastness. Will we make it? Will we successfully get to the other side of the reforms? Will we have enough enthusiasm? Or perhaps, will our reforms, along with democracy and hope, tumble down, blown away with an outbreak of social dissatisfaction; anger, which we will have caused ourselves, due to inaction?

Therefore, it was with pain and fear that I looked at how time was being lost. I knew what losses were incurred by all of us, reformers, by the whole of Poland. I saw squandered chances and unexploited opportunities. Time cannot be reversed, and opportunities cannot be regained. I am glad that at last, that eventually along with the government of Prime Minister Suchocka, we are gaining the opportunity for effectiveness. Better late than never.

An equally important matter is to define the areas where this special proce[illegible]ould be applicable. It is important what can an[illegible]t be solved with decrees. I have proposed it [illegible]g and I still say it: It should concern many area[illegible]t especially two:

First, the economy. Second, the rule of law and security. The time of changes in the system causes temptations. Ill-adjusted law creates a gray zone. It assists scandals, corruption, and organized crime. Lack of an effective law is as dangerous as the lack of an effective policeman. Perhaps even more dangerous.

I received the materials from you this morning. This is a mistake in organization. As a result, I cannot propose anything publicly, either with regard to the economy or with regard to the rule of law. There could be differences, and I would like to avoid a collision with this government to the extent possible. At the same time, I would like to say to you: Let us not make comments such as "Now, what did I tell, was I not correct?" Neither I, nor among these people, can such remarks be made. [sentence as received] Therefore, I think that in the working part of the session, we will try to present our remarks, submit our concepts.

I wish you a constructive discussion, and at the same time, positive conclusions because time flies, because it is high time that the government ruled effectively. Then society will not demand a strong hand, a more effective ruling. I hope that in this process, the office of president will actively support the rule of the prime minister.

Government Adopts Bill

LD1901174993 Warsaw PAP in English 1658 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—The government on Tuesday [19 January] adopted the draft law on special powers under which it will be able to issue decrees with the force of parliamentary acts. The document will be consulted with the coalition parties and then urgently submitted to the Sejm (lower house).

Prime Minister Hanna Suchocka said that the special powers would stay in force as long as her government and be available for measures intended to improve the economic reforms, state and local administration, public services, and to adjust the Polish law to European regulations.

President Lech Walesa, who was present at the cabinet meeting, told journalists that the bill included his remarks and that he was glad that Ms. Suchocka decided to go for her special powers owing to which the government's efficiency will grow.

Walesa Presents 'Charter of Rights and Liberties'

LD2101175193 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1143 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Draft of "Charter of Rights and Liberties"; read out to the Sejm by President Lech Walesa—live]

[Text] Mr. Speaker, Esteemed Chamber. We have been building a democratic law-governed state for three years. In such a state the law is the supreme authority. All areas of life should be subordinated to it—political, social, and economic. A good, correct, and sensible law is the basis of a democratic state. We know, that the building of the new Polish home was started with a change in the political alignments and [word indistinct]. That is the correct procedure of all revolutions. However, for the home to be permanent it has to have strong and solid foundations appropriate for the construction erected on it. We in the meantime have built a new building on the old legal bases. The previous legal system was a law of power and a law for power. It was the tool of politics. Government was above it and could manipulate codes and law, it could impose them on the public, change them and even interpret them as it wished. In a democratic system such a use of these laws is impermissible. However, up to now we have only amended the law without changing its essence and method of application. Now we ought to strive toward the construction of such a legal system that will serve the entire public and all citizens individually.

In this legal order politics, the institution of government and the state apparatus ought to be subordinated to the law. The Constitution is the highest and ultimate regulator of relations in the state, the source of all other laws. It defines the government's duties and citizens' rights. We still do not have a new and complete Basic Law. The writing of it is a long and complex process. It cannot be artificially speeded up. However, one cannot inactively remain in a temporary state. The passing of the Small [interim] Constitution was an expression of such a conviction. It regulates the mutual relations between state authorities. An initial and imperative condition has been fulfilled thereby for the construction of a democratic legal state. The supreme authorities of the Republic know the sphere of their duties and competency.

And what is there in the law that's new for the citizen? It does not give him very much. It only satisfies the needs of the political elites. It does not deal with the mutual relations between the state and the citizen. The draft of the Charter of Rights and Liberties submitted to the esteemed chamber is supposed to fill that gap. This document lays down boundaries that no government may overstep. It guarantees the fundamental rights and freedoms belonging to each citizen. It prevents the government from abusing its powers and the illegal activities of officials. It protects people against any kind of dictatorship of parliament, of the government, or the president. It assures a feeling of political security. The proposed constitutional law takes no account of controversial problems. It only passes laws which in a civilized world are considered to be essential and unbreakable. The Charter is not a programmatic or ideological declaration. It only assures that which the State is capable of discharging, and thus civic rights and freedoms, political rights, and also basic social rights.

The Republic cannot afford to satisfy all the needs of various social groups. The Charter of Rights and Liberites cannot thus contain promises that cannot be kept—it cannot be a collection of wishful thinking. Its great virtue is that it assures an essential minimum of social rights and does not remove rights that have been gained up to now. I am convinced it will also play an important role in the civic education of the Polish public. It will remind people what rights they have and how they can execute them. Thanks to it everyone will know what they can do themselves and what the government is not allowed to do. By protecting civic rights the Charter is a self-contained basis for citizens' claims. They will be able to directly cite the Charter and go to court. The Charter is supposed to discipline officials. Authorities at various levels are going to also have to bear financial responsibility for all kinds of abuse of authority.

Naturally the adoption of the Charter of Rights and Liberties does not solve social, political, and economic problems. Conflicts and disputes will continue to appear. Coalitions will continue to emerge and be created. Some politicians will continue to be carried away by emotions and excessive ambitions. They will more frequently ruin things before they construct anything. But, however, thanks to these processes democracy will be created. We will learn freedom. The Charter is needed precisely so that that lesson does not cost us too much and the government does not come to understand too late. Thank you.

Minority Paper Threatened With 'Delegalization'

WA1501193093

[From the "Panorama" Newscast]

[Editorial Report] Warsaw TVP Television Second Program Network in Polish at 2200 GMT on 7 January carries a brief report on the German-language minority paper SCHLESIEN REPORT. The Opole voivode, Ryszard Zembaczynski, maintains that the paper consistently publishes information "unfavorably representing Poland" and Poles. He quotes the paper as stating that "Silesia was and must always be German." Zembaczynski is threatening the paper with "delegalization" should this practice continue. The publisher of this irregularly-issued periodical (appearing "either every two or four weeks") is Janina Niedziela, working in cooperation with an unidentified German national, resident in Germany, who provides the funding.

Senate: Women Should Be Punished For Abortion

AU2201125493 Warsaw PAP in English 1326 GMT 19 Jan 92

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—The Senate Legislative Committee on Tuesday [19 January], debating on the anti-abortion law passed by the Sejm (lower house of parliament) on January 7, decided to advise the Senate to include in the law an entry enabling the punishment of pregnant women for abortion.

The Committee supports the version of the law which permits abortion only in the instance where it is performed to save the life of the pregnant woman in question.

The Sejm, which adopted the anti-abortion bill in a much milder wording than originally proposed by the Christian-National Union (ZChN), rejected the article on the punishment of women.

The Committee will also propose that the Senate change the title of the law back to its original version: "legal protection for the unborn child".

The Committee agreed that local governments cannot be obliged to guarantee free access to family planning methods and contraceptives but they should provide the full information required. It also wants deleting of the paragraph which allows pre-natal examination in families with genetic defects.

Minister on Police Staffing, Ex-USSR Criminals

PM2001095193 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 12 Jan 93 p 1

[Miroslaw Kozmin report incorporating interview with Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski on 11 January 1993; place not given: "Will Poland Be Safer?"]

[Text] During his visit to Krakow yesterday, Internal Affairs Minister Andrzej Milczanowski took part in a meeting with Sejm deputies, senators, city and regional authorities, and also representatives of the local police structures. The meeting was closed to the press. After the meeting, the head of the Internal Affairs Ministry answered journalists' questions for 15 minutes.

Milczanowski's replies to GAZETA KRAKOWSKA

[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA] When the number of jobs in the police structures was drastically reduced last year, it was announced that we had reached the lowest limit of public security provisions that could not be reduced any further. This year's budget proposals mention reducing the number of jobs in the police structures by another 8,000. Does it logically follow that citizens must now barricade themselves in their apartments and buy guns for self-defense?

[Milczanowski] No, this will not be necessary. Compared with the state of affairs in October 1992, this year the number of policemen will not be reduced.

[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA] What is the real extent of danger to public safety from criminals hailing from the territories of the former Soviet Union? It is alleged that their numbers are growing... It is even claimed that there are already some 100 criminal groups from the east in Poland, and that they are organized along mafia lines.

[Milczanowski] In percentage terms, the incidence of crimes committed by these groups does not present too great a danger. However, when it comes to the category of the most serious crimes, such as homicides, robbery with extortion, or armed assault, the problem is beginning to look increasingly grave.

[GAZETA KRAKOWSKA] Is it in connection with this danger that the Internal Affairs Ministry has submitted a proposal to the government to introduce entry visas for certain foreign citizens, especially from the East?

[Milczanowski] That was only one of the reasons. We stipulate the introduction of entry visas and invitations for CIS citizens (except for those from the Baltic countries), Bulgaria, Romania, Yugoslavia, Macedonia, Bosnia, and Hercegovina. However, I do not know what the government's final decisions will be in this matter.

The press conference did not pass without reporters asking about the current condition of state security. In his reply, the head of the Interior Ministry insisted that Polish citizens should not feel less safe and secure than people in the West. Asked what he thought of the recent publication of [Jaroslaw Kaczynski's] book, "The June Left," and whether Mieczyslaw Wachowski [Walesa's closest collaborator] had indeed in the past taken part in a Security Service training course, Milczanowski replied that he was "not in the habit of taking stands on so-called 'literature of invective.'"

Christian-National Union Overcomes Internal Split

AU2001133093 Warsaw PAP in English 1959 GMT 17 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 17—The Main Board of the Christian National Union (ZChN) on Sunday [17 January] accepted the decision of the 6-person Catholic Action, a disaffected group within the party's parliamentary caucus set up in September last year, to dissolve itself. Thus a split in the ZChN caucus came to an end.

The board also excluded member of the Catholic Action Piotr Walerycha from the ZChN because of "his activities that are incompatible with the dignity of the ZChN member and not because of his political initiatives," ZChN spokesman Ryszard Czarnecki announced but refused to provide further details.

The ZChN Board also discussed the organisation of the forthcoming 3rd party's congress scheduled for the end of February as well as the current political situation in Poland.

New Trade Union Organization Formed

LD2001174593 Warsaw PAP in English 1621 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 20—Representatives of five trade unions told a press conference on Wednesday [20 January] that an Organization of Independent Trade Unions has been set up.

The new organisation, which according to the unionists affiliates some 600,000 people, was formed at the initiative of the "Samoobrona" (Self-Defence) Farmers Trade Union, two miners' unions, the Union of Engine Drivers and the Copper Industry Trade Union.

Rajmund Moric of the Miners' Trade Union and Andrzej Lepper of "Samoobrona" stressed the new body apolitical character although "in future it may adopt a national and peasants' option," as they put it.

They announced that the organization will be in opposition to the government for it aims at "protecting the society from pauperisation."

Serb Barges Threaten To Ignite Cargo if Stopped

AU2101150493 Paris AFP in English 1445 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Buchurest, Jan 21 (AFP)—The crew of six Serbian barges carrying 6,000 tonnes of oil have threatened to ignite their cargo on the River Danube if Romanian authorities try to stop it from reaching embargoed Serbia, the Transport Ministry announced Thursday [21 January].

The tugboat Bihac left the east Romanian port of Braila Tuesday pretending to return to Ukraine after Romanian authorities stopped it on December 20 under a United Nations-imposed embargo against Serbia and Montenegro for their support for Serbian nationalists in Bosnia-Hercegovina and Croatia.

The Bihac later made a U-turn and sailed upstream heading to Serbia.

The convoy will be stopped—even by force—at Calarasi, about 100 kilometers (60 miles) southeast of Bucharest on the border with Bulgaria, where it is expected later Thursday, Mihaela Cutus, spokeswoman for the ministry, told AFP.

Four other Serbian boats have been held back by Romania for violating the UN ban.

Yugoslavia retaliated by barring four Romanian boats from sailing down the River Danube to Romania earlier this month, a decision blasted as "illegal and abusive" by Romania which called on the U.N. Security Council last week to help solve the problem.

Serbia released another Romanian boat early last month after Bucharest warned it would take the issue before international bodies.

Romania and Serbia share a border of nearly 550 kilometers (340 miles), of which 200 kilometers (125 miles) run along the Danube.

Serbs Allowed To Violate Embargo

AU2101155493 Paris AFP in English 1542 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Bucharest, Jan 21 (AFP)—Romanian authorities Thursday [21 January] allowed Serbian barges carrying 6,000 tonnes of oil to sail on to their final destination in violation of a UN embargo after the crew threatened to ignite the cargo on the River Danube. [passage omitted]

"Customs and port authorities tried by signals and radio to tell the crew to stop, but it failed to obey and sailed on," the commander of Romania's border guard, General Dumitru Luca, told AFP.

He said the Bihac would be monitored on the Danube but no other attempts would be made to stop it. [passage omitted]

Two UN commissions monitoring the implementation of UN sanctions in Romania have been informed of the attempt at breaching the embargo, Luca said.

The Bihac passed Calarasi early Thursday and has reached the portion of the Danube which marks the border between Romania and Bulgaria.

It was not expected to reach Serbian territory for at least another five days. [passage omitted]

Ministry Denies AFP Allegations

AU2101200593 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1928 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 21/1/1993—Relative to the news item broadcast by France Presse Thursday, 21 January, according to which "a Serbian convoy tried to force the blockade and threatens to set fire to 6,000 tonnes of petrol," the Romanian Transport ministry spokesman informed in a press release issued the same day that "no such statement has been made announcing the Romanian authorities' intention to retain the Serbian convoy by force, as erroneously France Presse announced." The press release reminds that "the use of force in such circumstances would be possible only on authority by the UN Security Council," and that "such an approach would not be part of the Transport Ministry's prerogatives."

Foreign Ministry Notes Iraqi Ceasefire Offer

AU2101200693 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1942 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 21/1/1993—A communique relayed to the Romanian National News Agency ROMPRES by Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs writes:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania has taken cognizance of Iraq's declaration of cease-fire with effect from 20 January 1993 and of the assurances given by the Iraqi side as to the resumption of UN flights as part of the activities in Iraq by UN missions based on the relevant resolutions of the Security Council.

"While reasserting Romania's well-known position regarding the necessity for the fulfilment of the UN resolutions on the settlement of the situation in the Persian Gulf, Romania's Ministry of Foreign Affairs expresses the hope that the latest evolutions of the Iraqi position, confirmed, as a matter of fact, by Iraq's ambassador to Bucharest during an interview at the Romanian Foreign Ministry, will be subsequently sustained by a conduct on the part of Iraq apt to favour the peaceful settlement of the issue and the normalisation of the relations between Iraq and the international community, so as to put an end sooner to the Iraqi people's sufferings."

Iliescu Greets New Ethnic Hungarian Leader

AU2201124693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 0900 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Romania's Presidency has faxed us a communique containing the message sent yesterday, 21 January, to Mr. Bela Marko, president of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR]. Here is the complete text:

I have followed with interest the proceedings of the 3d UDMR Congress and I saw with satisfaction the note of balance and realism that prevailed in its discussions. This is a tendency shared by other political forces, a fact that encourages and stimulates Romanian society's course toward normality and stability.

I believe that the current constitution, the consolidation of democratic structures, and the actions to overcome the economic crises and revive activity in this key area, can guarantee not only the legal framework for ensuring the fundamental rights of Romania's citizens, thus of those who belong to national minorities as well, but can also help to improve people's living conditions—an issue that was discussed during the debates of your congress.

The message from Mr. Iliescu to UDMR President Bela Marko further reads: The Presidency will show complete openness and give the necessary support to everything connected with the development of the intellectual life and preservation of the identity of the Hungarian ethnic minority in Romania, and to attempts to find solutions to the many other problems of the citizens you represent. It is in our own interest that in this so troubled part of the world, we should think and organize our life with dignity, understanding, and tolerance and reject all acts of extremism, regardless of where they start. I believe that you agree with me that the freedom and integrity of the individual, of each of us, are inseparably linked with the freedom and integrity of Romania itself and that democracy, in the establishment of which the political formation you have been elected to lead takes an active part, can only gain through a natural and responsible involvement in solving the problems Romania has to face.

In conclusion, President Iliescu congratulated the UDMR president on his election to this honorable position and wished him success in the highly responsible work entrusted to him. The same wishes were conveyed to the entire UDMR leadership.

Positive Signs Seen in Ties With Hungary

AU2201095693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 21 Jan 93

["Exclusive interview for Radio Romania" with Teodor Melescanu, minister of state and foreign minister, by Raluca Dana Cotruta in Bucharest on 21 January—recorded]

[Text] [Cotruta] Mr. Minister, have you received any signals in response to the proposals in the message you sent recently to your Hungarian counterpart, Mr. Geza Jeszenszky?

[Melescanu] Yes, to be honest, I have received several reactions and I would like to stress that they are all positive. In fact, I experienced some of these reactions directly when we met [with Jesznszky] recently in Paris on the occasion of the signing of the international convention banning chemical weapons. And to bring things up to date, I could say that the latest, but not the least, sign was the announcement, through diplomatic channels, of the visit that an important Hungarian Foreign Ministry delegation is to pay to Bucharest next week.

The delegation will be authorized to negotiate with the Romanian side the provisions that have not yet been agreed in the basic Romanian-Hungarian treaty, the drafting of which, as you well know, is in progress. Likewise, the delegation will have a mandate to clarify all outstanding problems in our bilateral relations. So, from this point of view, even before the delegation arrives, I would venture to say that the visit is an important sign because there is no doubt that if we are to achieve practical and tangible results, I believe that such a meeting represents a way of preparing, at a very high professional level, future contacts between the two countries, which include political contacts at an even higher level. Certainly, from this point of view, I would immediately like to add that there is a very fortunate coincidence because these positive signals come as a response to the Romanian side's evident actions and signals—if you allow me to use the same expression as you—that the Romanian side sent the Hungarian side. I am talking about President Iliescu's message of investiture; about the letter I sent to my colleague Minister Jeszenszky, and certain personal contacts that I have already mentioned. And within the framework of all these meetings, contacts, and exchanges of letters, the dominant element—at least as far as Romania and I, personally, are concerned—was the unambiguous expression of the Romanian side's wish to succeed with the Hungarian side in achieving progress in bilateral relations. We believe that this would not only be in the direct interest of Romania and Hungary but would also represent, and should represent, an important contribution to stability in our region and to security and stability in Europe in general.

Iliescu, War Veterans Discuss Social Problems

AU1801172993 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1620 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/1/1993—A delegation of Romania's National Association of War Veterans, including veterans from the Ministry of the Interior, was received Monday, January 18, by the Romanian President Ion Iliescu.

The said association was created on December 27, 1989, a few days after the revolution, and it numbers 427,000 veterans from the First and the Second World Wars.

Reserve Lieutenant-General Marin Dragnea, who chairs the War Veterans' Association, told ROMPRES that this nonpolitical, nongovernmental body has a message to convey to the young generations, referring to the experience of those fighting under the Romanian tricolor over 1916-19 and 1941-45.

President Ion Iliescu was explained a few things regarding the war veterans and invalids' pensions, town and railway transport facilities, the claim that those awarded war orders be restored to their rights.

Attending were Nicolae Spiroiu, minister of national defense, George Ioan Danescu, minister of the interior, and from the presidency, Vasile Ionel, presidential counselor, and Lieutenant-General Marin Pancea.

Iliescu, Danescu Hold Talks With Human Rights Officials

AU1901181093 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1613 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 19/1/1993—On Tuesday, January 19, Romanian President Ion Iliescu received at Cotroceni Palace [presidential headquarters] Joseph Voyame [name as received], Executive Director of the Romanian Human Rights Institute.

According to a statement made by Mr. Voyame, the interview falls within the meetings he intends to have with a view to fulfilling his mission as director of the Romanian Human Rights Institute. Previously he was rapporteur on human rights at the UN.

During the interview at Cotroceni, Joseph Voyame outlined aspects related to the activity of the Romanian Human Rights Institute, ideas and projects for the activity of the institute in the ongoing year. At the same time, problems were approached related to human rights, including the rights of national minorities, and reference was made to the elaboration of a contribution by the institute to the UN world conference to be held in Vienna this summer.

During the talks the need was stressed for working out a study and organizing a colloquium this autumn to gather experts in the area and to commit the institute to the elaboration of a draft law of the advocate of the people, which is to be taken over by institutes having legislative initiative.

Attending the interview were Irina Zlatescu, assistant director for Romania of the institute, and Traian Chebeleu, presidential adviser.

Modalities of cooperation with a view to protecting human rights between government and nongovernment bodies was the main theme debated on Tuesday, January 19, by the Minister of the Interior of Romania [Major-General George Ioan Danescu] and representatives of the Romanian Human Rights Institute.

At the same time, in his talks with Joseph Voyame and Irina Zlatescu, the Romanian interior minister, Major-General George Ioan Danescu, expressed the willingness of subordinated bodies to work for the avoidance of cases of human rights violation and to jointly look into such situations, which should subsequently be brought to the attention of mass media.

Need for Economic 'Integration' in Europe Stressed

AU2101153293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1325 GMT 21 Jan 93

["Ion Iliescu: "The Prerequisites Exist in Romania For an Economic Refloating"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 21/1/1993—"I believe that in Romania, more than anywhere else in the countries surrounding it, the mass character of the movement to overthrow the old system in December 1989 was a distinct trait" said Romanian President Ion Iliescu in an interview to Viorel Roman, adviser with the Bremen University. The interview was published by daily newspaper VREMEA.

Speaking about the transition from super-centralised economy to market economy President Iliescu said it was very difficult, complicated by the conjunction of internal and external factors.

About those factors President Iliescu said the international situation made "Romania's entrance on the Western markets difficult.... The ideological and military barrier is gone but a very strong economic one persists and it is likely to deepen the discrepancies between East and West Europe."

In President Iliescu's opinion "the achievement of a prospective genuine integration of the European countries is a necessity of political and economic life on a continental scale" and that was part of "a wider process insofar as world economy is a whole, with specific traits and ever increasing interdependencies." But, said Iliescu, the most serious problem of the end of century is "the huge discrepancy between the rich north and the poor south, which is increasing.... The East European countries are beginning to join in the phenomenon of underdevelopment through the grave crises of their economies."

Tackling the matter of the causes for the difficulties confronting Romanian economy today, President Iliescu said they were not to be blamed on reform or transition but on the crisis that exploded in 1989 after having accumulated over the years of supercentralised economy, which proved ineffective in a period of great economic and technological dynamism in the world. Economic reform, he said, "is trying to find solutions, mechanisms to put together a new coherence of economic life and create the prerequisites for a normalisation and boosting of Romanian economic life."

President Iliescu considers Romania did meet those requirements: "It is not the periphery of world economy, it is a country that, over the years, accumulated material factors as well as human capital. It is a country with human, economic and natural resources, it has accumulated a national wealth, an economic potential in industry and agriculture."

Pointing out some of the important difficulties of the transition, President Iliescu referred to the intricacy of the economic restructuring process, mainly that of the industry which is in his opinion "very badly structured... dominated over the past 20 years by a primitive, autarchic outlook." That is why he thinks privatisation is necessary, to begin "naturally at the periphery of the economy—small trade and production." However, he opined it would take a lengthy period, just like in other countries.

On the topic of foreign relations President Iliescu stated Romania would look for the possibilities to normalise and take up again traditional links with its neighbors, and develop relations with the Black Sea countries, those in the Middle East and those on the Rhine-Main-Danube route. The latter zone—he said—appears to interest others too, including the Japanese and the Americans and also connects Romania to the world network of economic relations.

Answering a question on the future evolution of the relationship between Romania and the Republic of Moldova, President Iliescu underscored that "we must look upon that relationship as a natural evolution. Any hurrying and forcing it can only yield negative results."

As for the situation in the former Yugoslavia, he reasserted Romania's interest in the evolution of that tragic conflict and voiced his opinion that "involvement of the international community had a negative contribution there and aggravated the situation.... It seems to me that the international community's efforts must be directed not towards stressing the contentious elements but, using political procedures and diplomatic action, towards encouraging dialogue between the communities of the states that have emerged from the former Yugoslavia and thus find solutions to the problems. Romania is still not the adept of measures of force.

"The arrogance of certain powers who wish to impose political solutions by force is a bad start for an equilibrium in that country and in Europe. The internal forces in the former Yugoslavia are the only ones capable to find the most adequate solutions."

President Iliescu Appoints Presidency Counselors

AU2201124893 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1100 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Romania's Presidency has faxed us a press communique that notes that within the process of reorganization of the Presidency's apparatus, President Ion Iliescu has appointed the following counselors: Paul Dobrescu, for relations with political parties, parliamentary groups, and trade unions; Marian Enache for legal issues; Grigore Georgiu, for political analysis; Dan Iosif for the directorate in charge of public relations; Alexandru Mironov, for pre-university education, youth and sports; and Dan Nastase, chief of the Chancellery.

PSM Supports Cabinet's Economic, Social Program

AU1601170293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1637 GMT 16 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 16/1/1993—In his address during the plenary meeting of the National Council of the Socialist Party of Labor [PSM], Ciutacu Constantin, the party's secretary general, mentioned that PSM will unconditionally back all measures meant to stop economic decline and prevent the people's standard of living from degrading.

Among the measures PSM considers as minimal, but inherent, for economic relaunching, the speaker mentioned: Economic governing by joint means and special programs, an increase of responsibility of the ministers, revival of key economic sectors by means of the maintenance of state governing of the major sectors over an undetermined period of time, a stop on the agricultural decline, and the privatization of small and average size enterprises with the participation of own employees.

Priority is given to the program ensuring more job opportunities, which guarantees the wages of the employed and the decrease of unemployment rate.

Papers, Political Figures Evaluate UDMR Congress

AU1801152393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1105 GMT 18 Jan 93

[From the press review of 18 January]

[Excerpts] Bucharest, ROMPRES 18/1/1993—The Brasov congress of the Democratic Union of Hungarians in Romania [UDMR] is the main theme in the commentaries and reports in the dailies of January 18. "The UDMR has picked the moderate way," notes ROMANIA LIBERA, mentioning that "the unconstitutional concept of national community was given up and that of national minority retained," while the delegates "used less the phrases 'mother nation,' 'ethnic patriotism,' insisting on the entrenchment in the Romanian present. TINERETUL LIBER also mentions the frame of mind which was "obviously in favor of the moderates." CURIERUL NATIONAL prints views by political leaders (the chairmen of the National Peasant Christian-Democratic Party [PNTCD], the National Liberal Party-Young Wing [PNL-AT], the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR], and the Greater Romania Party [PRM]) on the significance of the UDMR congress. ADEVARUL notes in its editorial that the presidency "ignored by absence" the UDMR congress, considering that the sending of the newest presidential adviser to attend an event of such importance "betrays an absolutely exagerated institutional vanity." [passage omitted]

"I am not contemplating radical changes in the UDMR political conduct. I will rather start with a process of specification and clarification of goals essential for the UDMR and for the Hungarian minority in Romania," stresses Bela Marko, the new UDMR chairman, in an interview with daily MERIDIAN. The UDMR future tactics, he mentions, will depend, just like so far, on the situation this political formation will have to handle.

As for the problem of autonomy, Bela Marko bela says: "We are, in fact, a national community with very powerful traditions and we believe that, on certain matters, the inner life of this community can be decided by itself. In education, culture, as well as in other domains, our community has the right to organize itself, to direct its institutions the way it wishes." Striking a comparison, the UDMR chairman says that Romanian public opinion should perceive the autonomy of the Hungarians in Romania like the autonomy of the churches." Of course, he adds, "it is about a broader autonomy, as it embraces far more numerous domains of the respective community's life."

Bela Marko thinks that there are ethnic tensions in Romania, but not as a general condition, just in form of local tensions. He opines such tensions are generated by the fact that "the national question is not settled from the standpoint of the minority and from the standpoint of the majority either."

CDR Chairman Emil Constantinescu, who attended the UDMR works, opines in daily MERIDIAN that adequate acquaintance is necessary between Romania and Hungary, that should not start from shunning real issues existing between minorities and the majority. He recalls his proposal for the joint organization by the Bucharest and Budapest universities of symposia to discuss all problems, starting with history and continuing with current policy ones. He is against an approach "of the way the scandal newspapers do," but advocates a serious, documented debate of the problems, as this is the way "we could really help improving the relations between Romania and Hungary."

CURIERUL NATIONAL and ROMANIA LIBERA come out with reactions of some leaders of political formations: PNTCD President Corneliu Coposu: "We have to ensure the right of expression in the mother-tongue, the right to school in one's own language, the right to one's own culture, to one's own tradition and folklore, the right to proportional representation up to the highest level in the legislative bodies, in the judiciary and in the executive, and generally the right to unhampered exercise of all freedoms, while not encroaching upon the rights of the others."

PNL-AT Horia Rusu: "We believe it is our duty, as Romanians, to combat the extremist parties."

PRM Chairman Corneliu Vadim Tudor: "Referring to the attitude of the radicals in UDMR, the Greater Romania Party proposes "the setting up of the national guards and of the patriotic worker guards," demanding "the banning of the anti-Romanian bodies and publications that poison the country's life."

Vatra Romaneasca: "The members of the Coordinating National Council of the Vatra Romaneasca National Union express their disapproval of the brutal, irresponsible, and senseless ideas set forth in some participants' addresses."

Gabriel Andreescu, chairman of the Civic Alliance: "The strengthening of the local autonomy is the key to democracy. It settles many of the tensions that opposed social, ethnic, or religious categories. Through local autonomy, the minorities concentrated in certain geographic zones would feel they have a greater say on their own destiny."

Mohora Insists Moderates Prevail in PSM

AU2101200293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1832 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 21/1/1993—Deputy Tudor Mohora, deputy chairman of the Socialist Party of Labour, PSM, said that a moderate trend was prevailing in his party, having a critical but not destructive attitude against the recent past.

He told a January 21 press conference that Romania's current crisis could be overcome by relaunching the economy on the principle of a political and economic reconciliation between private and state ownership, by making state-owned enterprises operational. The PSM deputy chairman added that his party was favouring the privatisation of small- and middle-scale businesses, after a well-conceived evaluation, while rejecting that of big companies as "utopic."

Referring to international ties, Mr. Mohora said all parties, irrespective of their leanings, should place national interests second to nothing.

Defense Minister Says Croats, Muslims Not Allies

LD2101160993 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1250 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—Bozo Rajic, defense minister in the Bosnia-Hercegovina Government loyal to Alija Izetbegovic, says in an interview with the GLOBUS weekly of Zagreb that the conflict between the Croats and Muslims in Gornji Vakuf "was instigated by the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army" as this was in fact an attempt to seize from the Croats some parts of their provinces. In Rajic's view, the reason behind this conflict is of a political nature as it boils down to differences of view regarding the resolution of Bosnia-Hercegovina's future and its constitutional order. Rajic warns that these conflicts were not provoked only by Muslim extremists, since "this is a plan drawn up by the political summit itself." The fact that considerably large units of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army have moved into the Gornji Vakuf area from other areas indicates this was not a matter of a "spontaneous incident" or an "isolated case."

Commenting on Alija Izetbegovic's view that the decision to submit the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army to the Croatian Defense Council in the Croatian provinces leads to the "disintegration of Bosnia-Hercegovina," Rajic said: "Bosnia-Hercegovina as a state we knew at the time when war broke out no longer exists." Asked about a "possible split in the Croatian-Muslim alliance," Rajic stressed that "the Croats and Muslims have never been allies," and that there was no political coalition. "We were allies as long as the chetnik aggression forced us into relying on each other in the same areas. It is not advisable to speak of an alliance in the classic sense of the word," Raic said.

He believes that there will be further efforts to put an end to the hostilities as soon as possible. However, if what has been proposed in Geneva and accepted by the Croats is met with continued negation one can hardly expect any subsidence, Rajic stressed in his interview with GLOBUS.

Muslims Warn Croats of Readiness To Fight

LD2101220193 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] The enormous number of casualties, wounded, and people with permanent disabilities are too great a sacrifice for the ideals of the struggle to be easily abandoned, says a warning letter sent to the Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency, the headquarters of the Supreme Command, and the public by the commanders of four Sarajevo brigades of the army of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The soldiers and command of these brigades and people who are from their zone of responsibility which, as the statement of the press centre of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army says, support the stands to which the commanders have given their signatures, are letting it be known that they have the strength to fight on yet another front if forced, and that their brigades will oppose with all available means a new aggressor. Tell the Croatian nation that we are not against that people but are against divisions by force of our only homeland, for which we are prepared to lay down our lives. Be assured, moreover, that we will not permit extremists, as in Gornji Vakuf, to disturb the hitherto good cooperation with the Croatian Defense Council against the common enemy, provided that we are not forced to unilaterally take such action, states the warning, signed by Mustafa Zulic, commander of the 1st Brcko Brigade, Zakim Puska, commander of the 2nd Brcko, Razim Delalic, commander of 3rd Brcko, and Mahmut Topalovic, commander of the 10th Brcko Brigade.

Croatian Mistreatment of Residents Reported

AU2101144793 Paris AFP in English 1403 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Jan 21 (AFP)—[passage omitted] A spokesman for the United Nation Protection Force in the former Yugoslavia (UNPROFOR) in Split, Croatia, said the situation in Gornji Vakuf was "slightly calmer" Thursday [21 January] than in the past few days.

Sarajevo's only remaining newspaper OSLOBODJENJE said Croatian forces broke into houses in Gornji Vakuf and nearby villages, blowing up some of them and beating residents .

Quoting the 3rd Bosnian army corps command, the paper said troops also stopped the wounded from being taken to the nearby town of Travnik.

The report could not be confirmed by other sources.

Gornji Vakuf, whose population is mainly Moslem, is located in a strategic area linking northwest Bosnia to Sarajevo.

The Geneva blueprint for Bosnia has put the town in one of the three provinces under Croatian control.

General Philippe Morillon, commander of UNPROFOR troops in Bosnia-Hercegovina, meanwhile went to Kiseljak, near Sarajevo, to organize a meeting between warring parties to enforce the ceasefire, an UNPROFOR spokesman said. [passage omitted]

Several Egyptian peacekeepers were slightly hurt Thursday when an armored vehicle carrying UNPROFOR troops fell into the river Miljacka after colliding with a Bosnian army ambulance, Sarajevo radio said.

Bosnia's Croatian leader Mate Boban said that after talks Wednesday with the cochairmen of the Geneva talks "we decided to postpone a decision to put all Croatian armed forces (in Bosnia) under the command of the Croatian Defense Forces (HVO) until the end of the Geneva conference." [passage omitted]

Croat Officials Say Muslims Leaving Police Force

LD2101150393 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Report by Slavko Rako for Croatian Radio from Hercegovina]

[Text] The Department for Internal Affairs of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosnia issued a public statement today noting at some negative trends in Capljina, Stolac, Mostar, and other towns, provoked by certain irresponsible members or a part of the leadership of the Party of Democratic Action [Muslim ruling party in Bosnia-Hercegovina] in these towns. Some individuals from the Party of Democratic Action have been exerting pressure on Muslim police officials to leave their jobs with the department for Internal Affairs. Several Muslims of the police station in Capljina resigned, after which Muslims in Stolac were told not to accept solutions by the Department for Internal Affairs of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia, while certain Muslim officials in Mostar who have not yet been promoted to adequate managerial positions have been told that they would lose their rights acquired in previous work with the Bosnia-Hercegovina Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The statement then notes that police stations have been set up by Muslims in central Bosnia under the influence of some extremists from Zenica and Sarajevo. These police stations are protected by members of the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army; this is not conductive to the normalization of the security situation.

The Department of Internal Affairs of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosnia notes that the most important thing for its employees continues to be their professional attitude to work and states that it will also continue employing both Croats and Muslims.

Silajdzic on Gornji Vakuf Clashes, Peace Plan

AU2101174093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Excerpt from interview with Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia-Hercegovina foreign minister, by unidentified reporter for Bosnia-Hercegovina Radio Television, in Sarajevo on 21 January—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Vance and Owen, cochairmen of the Geneva conference, visited Sarajevo yesterday. The primary reason for their visit was the difficult situation in Gornji Vakuf, and the misunderstandings—if we can use so mild an expression—between the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] and the Bosnia-Hercegovina Army. Can you comment on yesterday's talks?

[Silajdzic] Well, they came here because they were surprised by these clashes. Unfortunately, they are no longer our [word indistinct]. To tell you the truth, I am myself surprised. I was hoping that [words indistinct] the clash was a result of certain tensions, which is natural under the circumstances. Now, however, it is a question of an organized attack by some militant groups within the HVO. It surprised us all, including Messers Vance and Owen, and they came to see how this conflict could be solved.

[Reporter] Mr. Minister, cochairmen Vance and Owen have announced the continuation of the Geneva talks on Saturday [23 January]. In your view, how much will this new situation in Gornji Vakuf, these clashes, affect further negotiations?

[Silajdzic] The process of negotiations. We are negotiating in Geneva. There is no agreement yet. Geneva is being used for imposing some solutions in order to achieve what some, unfortunately, want to achieve in Bosnia—a state within a state. We have to be perfectly clear here. There cannot be a state within a state in Bosnia-Hercegovina, regardless of who wants it. The problem is in the fact that there are attempts to use the Geneva talks to get a desired interpretation of future relations in Bosnia-Hercegovina. The Geneva conference is not only not over, but nothing has been signed, of course. The point is that even if everything were over and signed, the unilateral action by some HVO forces in Gornji Vakuf would seem to show that they do not want to reach an agreement [word indistinct] but to impose some other political solutions. We have made it perfectly clear to Vance and Owen that it is not a question of a clash between the Muslims and Croats. There is no clash between the Muslims and Croats. There are some disputes over the concept. We are for a democratic Bosnia-Hercegovina in which the ethnic groups will be equal. We are not in favor of domination in the so-called provinces, anybody's domination. There will be no agreement if anybody interprets these provinces in such a way. Bosnia-Hercegovina is a sovereign and independent state within its borders and everyone, whether he likes it or not, had better bear that in mind.

Bosnian Army Continues Clashes with Croats, Serbs

AU2201121293

[Editorial Report] Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian at 1100 GMT on 22 January carries within its regular 20-minute newscast several reports on the war situation in the republic.

According to a correspondent from Gornji Vakuf, "there is nothing of the cease-fire sponsored by the EC observers and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] yesterday. The cease-fire was supposed to have gone into effect at 1700. Shells started to fall only a few minutes after the signing of the cease-fire. This continued throughout the night, with ten minute intervals. Detonations were reverberating all night. An artillery attack on Gornji Vakuf (?Commune) began at 0650 this morning. During the 50-minute attack in the region of [words indistinct], 75 howitzer and tank shells were fired. The lines of the army of the Bosnia-Hercegovina are stable."

The correspondent also says that there is no information on casualties, and that new negotiations are currently underway.

Sarajevo correspondent Irfan Calo reports that "the morning is marked by fierce artillery attacks by the enemy in almost all parts of the town. About 1010, chetniks shelled [named indistinct] and about 1030, their deadly shells fired at [names indistinct] and Jarcedole, (?contained) chemical agents [bojni otrov]. [words indistinct] We warn citizens in these areas to take appropriate measures to protect themselves against chemical agents."

Army Issues Statement on Combat Activities

AU2201095993 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Hercegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] The most intensive attacks by chetniks in the II Corps' zone of responsibility were noted in Gradacac, the free territory of Srebrenica, Brcko, [name indistinct], and Olovo.

Chetniks are (?fiercely) attacking Srebrenica. Our forces have broken the chetnik offensive from Serbia and the chetniks are fleeing toward Bajina Basta in panic. The fighters of our army are approaching the center of [name indistinct]. There are (?over 580) wounded chetniks and 7,000 very unhappy refugees in Bajina Basta. [Words indistinct] not fulfilling any of the numerous promises.

Chetniks are constantly firing at the positions of our units in Gradacac, particularly in Donja and Srednja Zelinja, Pozarika, and Silovac. A strong attack was also launched on the free territory of Brcko, particularly in the region of Klanac, Rijeka, and Dizdarusa. Chetniks are also directing heavy artillery fire at the positions of our forces in the Maglaj Commune, in the region of Ulisnak and Ljesnica.

In the III Corps' zone of responsibility, the aggressor is attacking the defense lines of our forces in Turbe, Travnik, and Zavidovici. Relations with the Croatian Defense Council are still extremely tense. Members of the army of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Muslim population in [words indistinct].

The representatives of the army of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Croatian Defense Council, the EC, and UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] yesterday agreed on a general cease-fire and an end of troop movements. The cease-fire went into effect at 1700. Combat operations died down after that but have not stopped yet. The Croatian Defense Council is expected to fully observe Mate Boban's order on a cease-fire and [words indistinct].

In the IV Corps' zone of responsibility, chetniks used light arms and [word indistinct] to fire at the positions of the Bregava brigade. Tensions between members of the army of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Croatian Defense Council are still felt. The bad behavior by some members of the Croatian Defense Council was noted.

The units of the army of Bosnia-Hercegovina are fully observing the order concerning the pacification of the situation. They are trying not be the cause of any clash. Relations between the army of Bosnia-Hercegovina and the Croatian Defense Council in Konjic are good.

In the V Corps' zone of responsibility, chetniks have been active around Bihac, Bosanska Krupa, Bosanska Otoka, and the positions of the 105th [name indistinct] Brigade in the region of Banjani. In the region of Ivanjska Klatna, chetniks brought a battalion-strong reinforcement. Our army fighters destroyed a chetnik tank and its crew in the region of [name indistinct]. Our border units are still discovering the positions of chetniks from Pljesevica and Knin very successfully, and are attacking them with all available weapons.

This was stated in a communique of the Press Center of the Army of Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Fighting Continues in Sarajevo Suburbs

LD2201041593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0044 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Sarajevo, January 21 (TANJUG)—Battles between Serbian and Moslem forces near Ilijas, 15-odd kms west of Sarajevo, which started on Wednesday [20 January] continued on Thursday evening after short breaks.

Moslem attacks on Serb positions near Ilijas continued late on Thursday, but were less intense, said the Bosnian Serb Army Sarajevo-Romanija Corps Command.

Moslem artillery-infantry launched an attack against Serb-held Ilijas on Wednesday evening. The Bosnian Serb Army replied with a counter attack and managed to capture several important elevations in the vicinity of Ilijas.

In order to prevent a further Serbian breakthrough, Moslem forces stepped up artillery fire, said the Sarajevo-Romanija Corps on Thursday.

Some 15-odd shells hit the western and southeastern parts of Ilijas, and were followed by an infantry attack which was repelled after two hours of fighting, late on Thursday afternoon.

On Thursday evening Moslem forces occasionally opened mortar fire on the Sarajevo Serb-held suburb of Nedzarici, and a fierce exchange of machinegun fire can be heard, said Bosnian Serb military sources.

The same source said that it was relatively quiet in other parts of Sarajevo.

Sarajevo radio which is controlled by the Moslem authorities said that it had been relatively quiet in Sarajevo all day Thursday.

Muslims Launch Surprise Attack Near Visegrad

LD2201001993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2357 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Vlasenica, January 21 (TANJUG)—Moslem forces launched a surprise attack early on Thursday [21 January] morning on the village of Cadjice in the area of Visegrad (eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina), said the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA on Thursday.

Details of victims among the villagers were not given, said SRNA, carrying a statement by the Bosnian Serb Army Drina Corps.

Moslem forces continue with the policy of ethnic cleansing in the most brutal manner by destroying all that is Serbian on the banks of the Drina river which seperates Bosnia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Ahead of the new year and the Orthodox Christmas (January 7), Moslem forces attacked Serbian villages in the vicinity of Bratunac, a town on the Bosnian side of the Drina river, during which around one hundred Serbian civilians, mostly women and children were killed.

Moslems committed a similar genocide against Serbs on January 16 when they attacked several Serbian villages including Skelani in eastern Bosnia-Hercegovina, killing 46 and wounding around 150 Serbs, mostly women and children.

Sarajevo Casualties Reported; Power, Water Cut

LD2101180193 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Report by correspondent Zeljko Ruzicic from Sarajevo]

[Excerpts] Today can be described as a day of considerable normalization in Sarajevo. In the military sense Sarajevo is completely peaceful. [passage omitted]

On the other hand, the Republican Medical Headquarters of Bosnia-Hercegovina has stated that from 1100 yesterday morning until noon today 12 citizens were killed while 66 others sustained injuries in chetnik attacks on Srebrenica, Konjic, Zvornik, Kalesija, Tesanj, Tuzla, Travnik, and Sarajevo. In Sarajevo alone during that period four people were killed while 22 civilians sustained injuries. A peaceful day in Sarajevo means that the casualty toll today could be considerably more favorable.

Also citizens of Sarajevo are having big difficulties with electricity and water supplies. Only 15 percent of households have electricity, but all priority consumers in the city are supplied with electicity, while many water supply and sewage pipes have burst which renders almost impossible the restoration of regular water supplies to all parts of the city.

TANJUG Says Croats Withdrawing From Gradacac

LD2001155693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1507 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] Banja Luka, 20 Jan (TANJUG)—The commander of the Croatian Defense Council units in Gradacac has ordered his units deployed in the town to withdraw immediately and to move toward Tuzla, Serb military sources in Banja Luka have revealed.

Gradacac, a strategic town in northern Bosnia and near the corridor linking Semberija and Krajina, has been under Serb siege for several months. The fact that Croat forces are leaving the joint town defense can be understood in the light of increasingly frequent conflicts and clashes between Muslims and Croats.

Serb sources say that, apart from sniper fire, Muslim attacks from the direction of Gradacac have been less intensive in the past few days.

Croatian units have today been very active in attacking the road corridor, which has been under attack from multiple-rocket launchers from the left bank of the Sava River from the Republic of Croatia. Traffic along the corridor is uninterrupted, but military authorities are recommending caution, especially on the section between Gorice and Obudovac.

Muslim attacks were reported in the Doboj area, where they are regrouping and bringing in fresh forces from the direction of Jelac.

In contract with the Doboj area, Muslims have been attacking fiercely and incessantly on the Teslic battleground using all types of weapons, including dum-dum ammunition. There were no serious clashes in the Maglaj, Zavidovici, Donji Vakuf, or Vlasic areas. It seems that Muslim forces have withdrawn from there toward Travnik, where Croat-Muslim clashes are intensifying.

Serbs Place Conditions on Acceptance of Accord

AU2101203493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Report by Natasa Ojdanic from Geneva]

[Text] All doubts have been removed. The peace talks on Bosnia-Hercegovina will resume at noon on Saturday [23 January] with a plenary session. The delegations are expected to arrive in the same form and it is quite possible that Presidents Milosevic and Bulatovic will also participate in this round. Informing correspondents today about these details, Fred Eckhard, spokesman for Vance and Owen, said that it would be too ambitious to expect signatures to be put on documents in only two days. However, he did not exclude the possibility of the warring sides accepting in principle the first paper in the package, that is, the paper on constitutional principles. Eckhard hinted that the maps, central to the forthcoming round of talks, would be the issue over which the fiercest battle will be fought. Perhaps it will not be possible to crack this hard nut, in which case the Geneva talks will finally grind to a halt.

Karadzic is this time expected to give a clear yes or no, without any conditions, Eckhard said, thus removing any doubts about what will happen when the statement of the Pale assembly appears. This statement places conditions on the signing of the constitutional principles by the insertion of a provision on the right of the people to self-determination. Eckhard went even further by saying that, even when the maps are discussed, the cochairmen will not be willing to listen to any more demands such as the one made by the Bosnian Serbs to have corridors between their provinces.

Bosnian Croat Leaders on 'Painful Compromise'

LD2101182793 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1600 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Mate Boban, president of the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna, and Mile Akmadzic, prime minister of Bosnia-Hercegovina, held a news conference for domestic and foreign journalists in the Zagreb Hotel Intercontinental this afternoon. They stressed that they wish to use their visit to Zagreb, during which they took part yesterday in talks with Cyrus Vance and David Owen, cochairmen of the Geneva conference, in order to explain to the public some of the issues in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Only the army of the Croatian people in Bosnia-Hercegovina has put up an effective resistance to the aggressor and in this way preserved the sovereignty of this republic, Mate Boban stressed in the talks with journalists, adding that the Croatian community of Herceg-Bosna particularly advocates guaranteeing human rights for all in the future Bosnia-Hercegovina. So far, two sides have not signed the agreement in Geneva—meaning the Serbs and the Muslims—and this could even lead to the continuation of the war, Boban and Akmadzic said.

On the subject of the Geneva talks, Mate Boban stressed that it is basically a compromise, and a painful compromise, but equally painful for every nation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. Time will show that this is the only way to end the war in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

On the events in Gornji Vakuf, Boban stressed that units of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO] were attacked by units of the army of Bosnia-Hercegovina, that is by Muslim units, and that some Croats were massacred in the attack. We want to resolve these clashes in the speediest possible manner. We invited Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of Bosnia-Hercegovina, to talks in Mostar or Split, but he refused. Mate Boban warned today that it is wrong to talk about an army of Bosnia-Hercegovina as opposed to an army of the HVO, of the Croatian Community of Herceg-Bosna, because the Croats and the HVO are also an army of Bosnia-Hercegovina. We have made the greatest contribution to the defense of Bosnia-Hercegovina against the aggressor, Mate Boban said.

Boban Sees Plan as 'Significant Step Forward'

LD2101161393 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1309 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—Mate Boban, president of the Croat Community of Herceg-Bosna, said that the endorsement of the Geneva peace plan in Pale "is a significant step forward in the coming together of the three nations on the issue of a possible Bosnia-Hercegovina." Boban added, however, that he would trust the Pale conclusion only when it was implemented. Still, giving assurances to the world community under these circumstances is nevertheless a commitment which cannot be easily ignored, Boban said.

HVO Leader Says Serbian Corridor Possible

LD2101210293 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1328 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—Jadranko Prlic, the head of the Croat Defense Council [HVO] of the Croat community of Herceg-Bosna, yesterday told Croatian Television that the peace plan drawn up by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen makes provisions for the so-called "blue road," which would ensure communication between Serb provinces in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to Prlic, further negotiations will discuss whether or not a Serb corridor in the sense of a Serb territory would be established. In any case, a compromise solution will be worked out to ensure free communication, Prlic said.

Karadzic Discusses Geneva Peace Plan

PM2101142393 Madrid ABC in Spanish 17 Jan 93 p 41

[Interview with Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic by Juan Carlos Azcue in Pale on 16 January]

[Text] Pale—"I am prepared to resign if my decisions are not accepted by the Assembly. Even though it may be very difficult, I hope to win a majority," Radovan Karadzic told ABC yesterday in the capital of the government of the self-proclaimed "Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina," 15km from Sarajevo. The Vance-Owen plan's proposals will have to be debated Tuesday [19 January] by the Assembly. Karadzic has peace or war at stake.

The president explained: "Now we have a territory, but it is not recognized as a state by the United Nations, while for the Muslims it is the other way round. This represents a disadvantage for us, since we do not want a state. What we do not want is Muslim domination.

Therefore, henceforth the three sides—the Croats, Muslims, and Serbs—will have their provinces, which is the best thing."

[Azcue] The most difficult part of the Vance-Owen peace plan for you seems to be not having a corridor to connect the Serbian provinces.

[Karadzic] It is a matter of life or death. It could be the cause of future wars. [answer ends]

The Serbian leader expatiated on strategic considerations concerning the new map of Serbia Hercegovina, and added that the Croats are more in favor of a Serbian corridor than the Muslims.

Corridor

[Azcue] Do you believe that the Serbian military will accept the peace plan?

[Karadzic] The military must obey the civil power, and that is what they do.

[Azcue] There is another aspect: The Serbian Assembly of Bosnia-Hercegovina seems not to have been democratically elected.

[Karadzic] It is perfectly lawful. They were designated by the party's assembly. They had to withdraw from the Sarajevo Assembly when the Croats and Muslims tricked us by declaring their independence on their own account. If it turns out that we are not the true representatives, let others be sought to sign an agreement.

[Azcue] Do you believe that an armed international intervention is possible if the situation continues?

[Karadzic] In that event, I would no longer be responsible. I believe that it would be a tragedy if the French, or the British, or the Americans were fired at; they were always our allies. Nobody could guarantee anything. Our people have many weapons; the aircraft would be shot down, and there would be terrorist attacks on nuclear power plants. Chaos.

[Azcue] But do you, who are a psychiatrist, believe that you are all victims of mass insanity? [answer dropped in newspaper]

[Azcue] You are accused of being a war criminal and driving Serbia into ethnic cleansing.

[Karadzic] For a start, I will tell you that I have not been condemned. U.S. Secretary of State Eagleburger has been very careful in saying so, in order to avoid my taking him to court. It is much easier to take him, Genscher, or Kouchner to court than to do so with us. [answer ends]

Radovan Karadzic expatiated at length on the accusations of ethnic cleansing and attributed them to propaganda "worthy of Goebbels." According to the Serbian leader, all the sides involved in the war have carried out ethnic cleansing. He looked at the map and pointed out how the Muslims are living in peace with the Serbs in various provinces, such as, for instance, Banja Luka. Before the war, there were just 20,000 Muslims, and now there are 40,000, because, according to him, they feel more protected. "Many Muslims have fought on our side, and for that reason their families feel more secure," Karadzic added.

[Azcue] You are accused of organizing brothels containing captive Muslim women in order to satisfy the Serbian troops.

[Karadzic] This forms part of the propaganda campaign. Our generals are very strict, because of their communist origins, and our Army would never do such a thing; there may be isolated cases, which are punished. We have 150,000 Muslims on our territory. Out of them, 50,000 are Muslims [as published]. What they say is impossible; we would have had to rape them all. There are no women's prisons. Our prisons can be visited by the international press... It should not be forgotten that there are six brothels in Sarajevo where Serbian women are confined. The Serbs, as a Christian people, would never have done such a thing."

Coexistence Impossible

[Azcue] But is it not most urgent to end the tragic situation experienced by the inhabitants of Sarajevo, who are without water and power?

[Karadzic] The Muslims of Sarajevo destroy the power lines in order to prevent the population from watching Serbian television; they want them to suffer to the utmost. We have water and power, but they control the distribution to the various districts. [answer ends]

According to Karadzic, when the Serbs supplied the UN protection force with new equipment for repairs, the Muslims destroyed it again.

[Azcue] But what about the snipers who are killing civilians?

[Karadzic] We are not close enough to be able to do so. It is cowardice.

[Azcue] So you are not going to tell me that people just die when they go walking on the streets.

[Karadzic] No, only the Muslims, who do so because they kill everything that moves. [sentence as published]

[question dropped in newspaper]

[Karadzic] No. The fact is that coexistence with the Muslims is impossible, as is the case elsewhere in the world.

Doboj Croats Want To Join With Odzaci Province

LD1801193993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1822 GMT 18 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 18 (TANJUG)—Croats from 7 villages near Doboj, northern Bosnia, decided to call a referendum in late January and vote for joining Derventa, northern Bosnia, because they do not want "to be in a Moslem province".

Over 9,000 Croats live in these seven villages, Croatian Radio reported on Monday [18 January]. The referendum will be held in Zagreb, where the refugees from these Croatian villages are temporarily staying.

There is no doubt that the Croat villagers decided to call the referendum because they do not want to remain in the Moslem province No. 5 (Tuzla) to which Doboj belongs, although the Croatian Radio made no such comment. The Doboj region is now controlled by Bosnian Serbs.

These seven villages want to join province No. 3 (Odzaci), which the Croats believe will belong to them.

Cochairmen of the conference on former Yugoslavia proposed at the Geneva talks on Bosnia that the former Yugoslav republic be divided into ten largely autonomous provinces.

Under the draft maps, which are yet to be discussed at the next rounds of the Geneva talks, Moslems, Serbs and Croats would each get three provinces, while Sarajevo and its vicinity would have a special status.

French Physicians Discuss War Crimes

93BA0499 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 6-7 Jan 93 p 4

[Unattributed article: "Kozarac: First the Serbs Slaughtered the Elite"]

[Text] *From a report by Physicians Without Borders [MSF] after interviews in St. Etienne with 60 former Bosnian prisoners and their families about the ethnic cleansing in Kozarac. The Serbian violence in Bosnia-Hercegovina cannot simply be added to a broad scale of violations of human rights or of war crimes, but it is already a recognizable crime against humanity in advance. More than the terrible nature of the crimes, the report by the MSF emphasizes the methodical, industrial, and planned means of carrying out the process begun with the aim of uprooting every Muslim presence in occupied Bosnia*

During the summer of 1992, the international public learned through television of Serbian camps in Bosnia, in which several thousand Bosnian civilians were imprisoned under terrible conditions...

On 28 October France approved a six-month stay for 300 of these prisoners. On 15 November the first group of 87 prisoners—76 with families—was settled in Sonacotra—the town hall of St. Etienne.

From 24 to 27 November MSF sent a team of two physicians and one psychiatrist, together with three interpreters, to St. Etienne, in order to determine the psychological and medical needs of the former prisoners.

The team from MSF spoke individually with the 60 captives and their families, in order to compile a report on their sufferings in the past six months.

The results of the interviews went much further than the MSF first expected. The great number of witnesses, the methodical admission to the talks, the favorable conditions under which they were held, and the origin of the prisoners, all from the same district in northeastern Bosnia, all contributed to this document's being a united example of condemnation of Serbian powers.

In the judgment of authoritative people, it is clearly shown that the Serbian violence in Bosnia-Hercegovina simply cannot be added to a broad scale of violations of human rights or war crimes, but that it is already a recognizable crime against humanity beforehand. The Nuremberg court described a crime against humanity as "murder, killing, plundering, persecution, and any other inhumane violence committed against a civilian populace."

The Serbs have launched a process of systematic extermination and mistreatment of the civilian population in areas of Bosnia under their jurisdiction, with the aim of cleansing them of the Muslim and Croat populace and preventing any possible return to the previous status.

This report points to the systematic murder of the Muslim elite which is carried out by the Serbian militia. It also presents a list of 12 prisoner camps unknown up to now to international organizations, and which should be cited.

This confirms the numerous claims made in reports of fact-finding missions of the United Nations and Amnesty International, which all relate to the same area.

"Cleansed" and "Polished Up" Camps

More than the horrible nature of these crimes, this report emphasizes the methodical, industrial, and planned means of carrying out the process begun with the aim of uprooting every Muslim presence in occupied Bosnia.

The operation of ethnic cleansing in Kozarac and surrounding villages (with a total population of 25,000), as well as in four prisoner camps, was carried out from 24 May to 1 October as follows:

A month before occupying the area, the Serbian powers blocked television programs broadcast from Sarajevo and replaced them with Serbian TV programming. The local population offered no significant resistance to the assumption of power.

After assuming authority over Kozarac and the vicinity in May and June, Serbian soldiers carried out, immediately and on the spot, a massacre of part of the population. Men from the administration or those with higher education (political leaders, lawyers, teachers, policemen...) were systematically shot or slaughtered. Males who survived this first wave of ethnic cleansing, and who were fit for fighting, as well as all others between 18 and 60 years of age, were taken to a detention camp, in which they were held until being freed on 1 October.

Women, children, and old people remained for a month outside the city, in villages, before they were taken to camps, and then at the end of June were taken in cattle trucks to the Bosnian frontlines. During this whole period, the women were the first target of violence and were used as ransom. Muslim villages (mosques, houses, and markets) were systematically destroyed or plundered by Serbian families.

The men were held in the camps under very bad conditions. With no sanitary facilities or medical care, with token meals, the prisoners lost an average of 20 kg. of body weight during the three-month period. There were victims there of daily humiliation and torture. Each night, after terrible beatings, five to 10 prisoners were killed. The evidence presented in this document describes two large massacres in the camps, with 230 victims in the first and 50 in the second.

Several days before the first visit to the camp by the International Red Cross, on 11 August, the Serbs emptied the worst camps and cleaned and "polished up" those that the Red Cross was to visit. Many prisoners were transferred from one camp to another every time Red Cross representatives came. In Keraterm, prisoners that were sick or on whom there were clear marks of torture were killed before the arrival of the Red Cross. However, although the presence of a Swiss delegation evidently reduced the Serbian despotism, this did not mean the end of the mistreatment.

Abduction and Execution

During the day of 28 May, Serbian soldiers went from house to house, plundering and taking away males between 18 and 60 years of age. Half of those abducted were killed immediately. Physicians, teachers, public officials, leaders of political parties, and businessmen were the first victims of these arbitrary executions. Statements that we have gathered point to a policy of systematic elimination of the local "elite" and educated people from the moment that the town was occupied by the Serbian militia. Fikret Hozic, a successful and well-known weightlifter who lived in that area, was also killed.

"A Serbian militiaman, his face covered with a tanker's goggles, specified who should be killed; these were shot or their throats were cut."

We learned the names of several who were among the first victims from former prisoners now in St. Etienne: Samir Karabasic, Senad and Asmir Rizanovic, Pelak, Kadic. The bodies were quickly buried in the town, near the place of execution.

The other men were divided into groups and taken away in convoys to camps.

Ransom was extorted from the women, who were also mistreated and, in many cases, raped. None of the women questioned in the presence of their families wanted to admit to having been raped, but all confirmed that women and girls older than 12 years were targets for rape.

One of the women told of how a Serbian militiaman took her with him while plundering neighboring houses. He beat her, pulled her by the hair, and threatened to kill her and "gouge out your eye so that you see how it is." She was saved when an older militiaman intervened.

The town was systematically plundered, destroyed, and burned. The prisoners questioned passed through Kozarac on their way to Croatia. They saw that the town was almost completely destroyed. Serbs who confiscated the rest of the houses, which remained whole, on the edge of town, are now living in them.

There were 13 mosques, one Catholic church, and one Orthodox church in Kozarac and surrounding locations before the war. Today there is not a single one. The Orthodox church was destroyed by shelling.

Massacres in the Villages

In the vicinity of Kozarac, especially in the area called Brdo, six small mountain villages were located: Hambarne, Rizvanovic, Rakovcani, Bisceni, Sredice, Carakovo. All the inhabitants of these villages were taken away, and many were killed on the spot.

A former resident of Carakovo gave us a list of the names of 282 people killed at that time. The same witness reports 48 people missing, 85 men taken to Trnopolje, and 32 survivors from the camp. Another witness reports that 75 people from 50 houses were killed in Bisceni. Three-quarters of the inhabitants of these villages (before the war 4,500 inhabitants, 850 houses) were killed.

The son of one of the survivors, a 16-year-old, now a refugee in France, was taken by the Serbs to help them in plundering houses. Together with a neighbor, he was a witness on that occasion to the murder of his uncle, 61 years old, and a neighbor, 58 years old. "They forced them to hit each other in the head before they hanged them from the bridge."

Suffering in Convoys

Women, children, and men older than 80 years were taken away in convoys during the period 9-20 June. First they were taken to Trnopolje, a transit camp from which the convoys moved by rail through Doboj, with the aim of crossing the Bosnia River. Then they returned to the other side, a line on the front under Bosnian supervision.

Having arrived in Doboj, they crossed a mined road in groups before they would cross the river. There they were forced to give up the few things that they had been left with.

They had to cross the river quickly, on an old suspension bridge. One woman fell from the bridge with her two children; they were caught in the current of the river, which had grown into a real torrent. Another threw herself from the bridge when a Serbian soldier ordered her to throw her child into the river.

Finally they had to walk 15 to 20 km to Bosnian positions.

[Box, p 4]

We Knew How To Have a Good Time Together

Armed, uniformed Serbs maintained the camps. The majority of the guards were known to the prisoners, since they were from neighboring villages.

- "We knew how to have a good time together; our children went to school together." - "What do you think about a guard who beats a prisoner, then embraces him and cries." - "They said we were guilty for this war, that we deserved what was happening to us." - "At any cost we had to avoid the possibility of being taken by a guard who knew us, in order to avoid revenge." - "They beat us if they didn't like our looks. One guard ordered me to come out the door, then he beat me with a baseball bat—for no reason. He noticed me because I was wearing a red vest." - "I saw four guards beating four prisoners for half an hour. When they finished, they rested and asked those men to get them four cigarettes. They didn't have a single one, since the Serbs sold cigarettes to the prisoners."

[Box, p 4]

The Team of Physicians Without Borders

William Perea, epidemiologist; Marie-Risaire Beriot, physician; Luc Mazordier, psychiatrist; Djalial Melti, translator; Tasana Batista, translator; Zlatko Markes, translator.

[Box, p 4]

Unofficial Camps

Located camps: Nova Topola, Jeruge (Prijedor), Drvar (Titov Drvar), Gradina (Crnaraske), Kamenice (Titov Drvar), Mljecanica (Doboj). Unlocated camps: Mrkonjic Grad, Sipovo, Kozila. Camp in Serbia: Rodnik.

Four camps in which those questioned were imprisoned: Keraterm, Omarske, Manjaca, and Trnopolje.

New Serbian Republic Premier Interviewed

93BA0464C Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 93 p 8

[Article by Radovan Kovacevic: "Lukic: 'We Have To Shape Our Fate Ourselves'"]

[Text] *Prof. Vladimir Lukic: "The primary goal is liberation from the community that was destroyed with the collapse of Yugoslavia; the precious ties with Yugoslavia can be raised to a much higher level; security and equality before the law for everyone; a shady faction in UNPROFOR [UN Protection Force] is stirring up the war."*

Pale, 5 Jan—Prof. Vladimir Lukic, at a recent session of the Serbian Republic's National Assembly, was elected prime minister-designate for the new government in Pale. Until now he has been this newly created state's representative to UNPROFOR in Sarajevo, and came to the Assembly in the belief that he had to provide at least some of the information about an exchange of prisoners or the sensitive details of wartime diplomacy.

Dressed in what he had, in blue jeans and a hastily borrowed jacket (his was stolen), he was very surprised by the political leadership's offer that he take the helm of the executive authority. A person who still lives in Grbavica today, and whose two sons are at the front, he had to respond in accordance with the conditions in which his compatriots are living. He accepted the proposal as a war assignment. "If you think I can...."

"These are difficult times for all citizens of the Serbian Republic. Admittedly, there are areas where peacetime conditions almost prevail, and the fighters just still need to return from the front. On the whole, however, the war situation, with all the savagery accompanying it, is affecting most of this part of the Serbian people. We are firmly determined, however, that there is no return...."

A Large Number of Serbs Imprisoned in the Cities

In an exclusive interview for POLITIKA, the first one that he has given at all since his sudden promotion to one of the leading figures of the Serbian Republic, Mr. Lukic said that in touring the regions he had confirmed, very clearly and firmly, some of his convictions. These, as he said, were primarily the goal of freeing this part of the Serbian clan as well from the community that other peoples ruined. "We have to shape our own fate and determine our way of life.... Many of our areas have been devastated. Factories have been destroyed or seriously damaged, villages have been burnt, and cities have been destroyed. A large number of Serbs have been left in concentration camp cities, such as not only Sarajevo, but also Zenica, Visoko, Konjac, and others. That is the most serious wound to our people, about which not enough is known in Serbia, and which people in most of Europe and the world do not even want to know about."

Prof. Lukic is probably the most informed person on the Serbian side about the sufferings of the 40,000 Serbs in the part of Sarajevo under Muslim control. He said that he had seen thousands of people who testified to him, immediately after passing through the UN forces' barrier, about threats and starvation, massacres, atrocities committed without any reason, and victims of the basest passions. The worst thing is that many young people have disappeared, and numerous families have been destroyed.... All of this is the cost of this terrible war. What could the new government, the new composition of which should be announced in about 15 days, do to straighten out the situation and develop the young republic?

"My conditions for joining the government were very brief and clear—honesty, expertise, and the ability to support a future minister to the utmost limits.... We need morally pure people, unencumbered by liabilities, and if possible coming from different areas of the republic...."

He thinks that this would be one of the important conditions for strengthening the unity of this part of the Serbian people, so that all the disagreements can be eliminated and the differences in objective regional interests can be moderated.

The new prime minister is a 60-year-old, obviously in excellent condition. He was born in Dabar near Sanski Most in a rebellious family; he says that he has looked death in the eyes three times during this war, and that has been happening to him even now.... He lived for months in Sarajevo just 10 meters or so behind the front line. His family stayed down there....

Sarajevo—Metaphor of All the Disagreements

Unused to political statements, and even less to interviews and the media in general, he returned to Sarajevo as a metaphor for all the disagreements and evil on the territory of the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. Since the beginning of this year, he says, many European peoples have been crossing casually from one country to another, but that same Europe is tolerating Alija Izetbegovic's regime, which is preventing Serbs from crossing even from one street to another, while anyone who wants to can leave the Serbian part of the city. That is why Jews, Slovenes, and Croats have been allowed to leave; only the Serbs have been prevented from crossing Miljacka! Many young men of Serbian nationality have been killed because they do not want to join the Muslim army. The Serbian Republic's previous government and also the new one have adhered to allowing Muslims to decide freely whose side they will be on.

"I am most familiar with the situation in Grbavica: Serbs, Croats, and Muslims are jointly sharing the misfortunes of war, with quite tolerant relationships. My government will strengthen that as a principle...."

His experience with UNPROFOR will certainly be very influential in some actions by the Serbian Republic's government. Many of the people representing UN forces and institutions in this region are correctly interpreting events in the former Bosnia-Hercegovina. Dr. Lukic believes that such reports are arriving where they are supposed to.... Most of those foreigners, however, "sheltered behind blue flags, are coming with an assignment, with positions shaped in advance that nothing can influence, not even the blood and tears of a sad people." "In that way the war is only being stirred up," Prof. Lukic said.

Among his government's priorities, he emphasized one in particular: "Everyone is equal before the law and everyone has to be safe."

Labor Obligation Being Introduced

"We have to revitalize the economy as soon as possible, and wherever possible," Prof. Lukic said. "The difficulties are also enormous because our people are on the front, but a labor obligation will be introduced for women, invalids, and nonfighters in general....

"There are particular expectations for agriculture. We have all the conditions for producing sufficient amounts of food for ourselves, and even for export; the fall harvest was better than last year.... Enterprises in the Bosnian Krajina are ready for work, if we can just solve the problem of the long-distance power line network. It was formerly built in such a way that the Muslim side could easily block it, which did happen. That is why new transmission lines have to be built quickly, or the old ones rebuilt. We will have as much electricity as we need, and raw materials as well. Revitalizing the economic potential will be one of the crucial factors for stabilization, just as much as successes on the front and on the international level. The Serbian Republic has all the conditions for becoming a prosperous state about which only good things will be heard in the future.

[Box, p 8]

Unified Currency With Yugoslavia?

"We have already had talks in Belgrade about payment transactions with the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and we expect that that problem, which is very serious for us, will be solved soon.

"Ties with Serbia and Yugoslavia have always been valuable to us, and especially now. In this regard I am not just thinking of the enormous humanitarian assistance, but also of how the production capacities and programs of the two economies supplement each other. Mutual relationships and interests will make it easier for us to achieve a high level of linkage between our economy and Yugoslavia's. What does this mean specifically? This: Our goal is a common currency, for example.

"Cooperation with the Republic of Serbian Krajina is also very important to us. We will not set any limits on this, including economic ones," the Serbian Republic's new prime minister said.

[Box, p 8]

Profiteers Without Roses

Advocating the establishment of those moral codes for which the Serbian people are known now, Dr. Lukic sharply spoke out against war profiteers of all types—swindlers—as they are called here.

"They will have to return to the Serbian Republic everything that they have gained through machinations," our interlocutor said.

Let us also add that he will make an effort to introduce an incentive taxation system and in this respect from the government's point of view only one principle needs to be put forward: the only honest man is the one who fulfills obligations to society! In that way those who have hidden the truth and for whom it has been a bed of roses until now should be on the other side of the street.

Krajina Government Welcomes Bosnian Serb Decision

LD2101160193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1502 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 21 Jan (TANJUG)—The decision of the Assembly of the Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] to endorse the Geneva principles at this moment is a definitive victory of reason and signals political maturity of the Serb people. This has been assessed by the government of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK]. This is the only way "to preserve the achieved unity of the Serbian people and Serbian states," a government statement issued today says.

The statement notes that the endorsement of the Geneva principles opens up possibilities for another, better basis for the peace conference. "This is the opportunity to wage the struggle for the interests of the Serbian people in the field of policy and diplomacy and not just on battlefields at the highest cost." The statement stresses that the world can now see that the Serbian people have been advocating peace and not war.

The Krajina government holds that those who see the endorsement of the Geneva principles as an act of capitulation and treason are political amateurs. "These people do not care for the interests of the Serbian people, but for their own political ambitions."

Babic: Serb Pact Annulled

LD2001193093 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Text] By endorsing the Geneva constitutional principles, the Serb people in the so-called Serb Republic [in Bosnia-Hercegovina] have accepted the existence of the state of Bosnia-Hercegovina. The [Bosnian] Serb Assembly has thus abandoned [Serb] statehood, Milan Babic, president of the so-called Serb Republic of Krajina [RSK], told Radio Knin in commenting on the news that the Geneva plan on the constitutional system for Bosnia-Hercegovina has been accepted in Pale.

As of today, there is another state between Serbia and Krajina, and in that state Serbs are just one nation, and they will not be able to decide anything without Muslim and Croat approval. In this way the Prijedor declaration on the unification of the Serb Republic and the RSK has been annulled. So, Krajina will now have to fight for independence on its own, Milan Babic told Radio Knin.

Hospitals Reportedly Turning Away Muslim Refugees

AU2201115793 Paris AFP in English 1131 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 22 (AFP)—The Croatian Government has told hospitals to turn away Bosnian Moslem refugees if they have no money to pay for treatment, the president of a Moslem humanitarian organisation said here on Friday [22 January].

Izet Aganovic, a medical doctor who is in charge of the charitable organisation Merhamet-Red Crescent, produced as proof a photocopy of a circular from the Croatian Health Ministry dated January 14.

He said the circular, in Croat, had been sent to hospital directors, dispensaries and peripatetic health services. It told them that "Bosnian refugees" could no longer be admitted unless they could prove they could afford their treatment.

The only exceptions to the rule were dialysis patients and children having compulsory vaccinations.

Aganovic said the government justified its action because of the increasing pressure on its economy from the flood of refugees. He said the Croatian authorities had presented the Bosnian Government with a bill for 65 million dollars and demanded payment of half in return for going back on the decision.

No Croatian officials were available for comment on the allegations.

According to the latest official figures, Croatia had taken in 668,000 refugees by the end of December, around 400,000 from war-torn Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Hadzic Orders Mobilization of Forces

LD2201115893 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1113 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Jan (TANJUG)—Goran Hadzic, president of the Republic of Serb Krajina [RSK], today ordered the [RSK] Armed Forces to carry out all preparations for an adequate response to an armed aggression on RSK territory carried by the Croatian Army, the ISKRA news agency reports.

The Krajina Foreign Ministry today sent a letter to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia Government, the same source says. The letter reminds the Yugoslav Government of its obligation to provide military assistance if Krajina people are threatened.

The Croatian forces launched an attack on Krajina towards Maslenica bridge and Benkovac, Krajina military sources say. One Serb soldier died and several were wounded in clashes.

Croatian Forces Attack Serb-Controlled Positions

AU2201115193 Paris AFP in English 1059 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 22 (AFP)—Croatian forces attacked several positions in Serb-controlled territories of Croatia early Friday [22 January], the Croatian Serb news agency ISKRA reported.

After sporadic overnight clashes, the Croatian forces using armoured vehicles, 130-mm guns and rocket-launchers went onto the attack against a dozen villages in the region of Smokovic and Donja Biljana, near Zadar in southern Croatia, the agency said.

Low-level skirmishes have taken place regularly in recent months in this region of the Serb-held Krajina, where a French battalion of the U.N. Protection Force is deployed, without degenerating into full-scale conflict.

Croat Forces Reportedly Mobilized in Krajina

LD1901172193 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1403 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Text] Knin, 19 Jan (TANJUG)—Croatia continues to mobilize and deploy fresh forces in border areas with the Republic of Serb Krajina, military sources in Knin claim.

An increased concentration of forces has been observed on routes in the direction of Knin in almost the entire Sector South which is under the control of the UN forces, whose command has been officially notified about the activities of the Croatian Army.

According to the same source, in addition to the concentration of fresh troops, there is also evidence that new armored vehicles, artillery weapons, and even surface-to-surface missiles are being brought in.

All these Croatian moves are banned under the Vance plan and under an agreement providing for the separation of opposing sides along the front line. The agreement provides for the withdrawal of heavy artillery to 30 km from the demaracation line.

The latest moves by the Croatian armed forces have raised suspicion on the Serb side which, it has been learned, has already taken appropriate measures to avoid being "unpleasantly surprised."

Tudjman Hopes To Secure Peace This Year

LD1901234593 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 19 Jan 93

[Excerpt] President Franjo Tudjman hosted a formal new year reception for religious leaders in the presidential palace today. Having expressed best wishes for the new year to church and religious dignitaries on behalf of the Croatian government and in his own name, President Tudjman voiced the hope that this year will be better than last year.

All efforts of the Croatian leadership, he went on, are aimed at securing peace this year in Croatia and specifically in neighboring Bosnia-Hercegovina, because events there directly affect the situation in Croatia and this part of Europe and the world. The Croatian people, the president stressed, suffered enormous evils imposed on them by the war and they helped in a big way to accommodate almost 500,000 refugees from Bosnia-Hercegovina, 80 percent of whom are Muslims. All this represents a great burden for the state. In doing this, Croatia has shown generosity and concern for the fate of this neighboring state because of their historical and geo-political ties. Events in Bosnia-Hercegovina are not encouraging, especially because of conflicts between Muslim and Croat units. This is something which worries everyone, Dr. Tudjman assessed and urged that this situation should be immediately overcome.

This problem is so tangled and complex, and it requires that all of us invest efforts to establish peace as the most important good for all individuals, nations and states, President Tudjman concluded in his speech to religious dignitaries. [passage omitted]

Croatia Protests POW Exchange Failure

LD2101234893 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 2200 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Croatian Deputy Prime Ministers Vladimir Seks and Mate Granic today lodged a protest with the Geneva conference cochairmen, the United Nations, and the ICRC [International Committee of the Red Cross], over Yugoslavia's failure to fulfill its obligations concerning the exchange of prisoners of war. An agreement on this was signed between the two countries under the auspices of the International Red Cross, but the exchange of remaining POWs [prisoners of war] has not taken place, due to what the Croatian officials see as a lack of cooperation on the part of the Yugoslav side.

Unemployment Quota Reduced in Last Year

AU2101173693 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 16 Jan 93 p 5

[Unattributed report: "There Are 261,050 Unemployed in Croatia"]

[Text] Zagreb— The Croatian Institute for Employment registered 261,050 unemployed people on 31 December, 22,258 fewer than at the end of 1991. In the course of the past year, 178,378 more were registered, and the total number of people who found jobs is 79,981.

Among the unemployed there were 13,089 people with a university degree, 9,959 with a college degree, and 60,944 with graduated high school. Apart of them, there were registered 85,080 highly qualified, 42,467 semi-qualified, and 49,511 unqualified people.

According to the Institute's analysis, 57,275 unemployed were originally dismissed because company had merged or went bankruptcy, or simply because employer had terminated his business activities.

At the end of December 1991, 82,510 people who had sought job for the first time had been registered, and during the same month the Institute had registered 13,443 more, while 5,733 persons had found jobs. According to reports on submitted applications that were delivered to employment exchange offices in December last year, 7,087 persons found jobs in that same month, 257.4 percent more than in December of 1991.

In Zagreb 60,403 unemployed have been registered , in Split 47,377, in Osijek 30,659, in Rijeka 19,593, in Slavonski Brod 14,150, in Varazdin 11,721 and in Zadar 11,125.

HDZ Proposes Changes in Electoral System

93BA0465B Zagreb NOVI VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 5-6 Jan 93 p 5

[Article by Aleksa Crnjakovic]

[Text] Zagreb—Even in the second installment of the extraordinary session of the Croatian Assembly just before New Year's there were signs that the opposition is cautious as it awaits the third round—that is, that it expects that the incumbent party is about to spring something "from the flank." Dr. Savka Dabcevic-Kucar has in fact said this publicly from the speaker's stand, demanding that they be given in good time all the legislative bills which the government intends to send down from the third floor to the second floor of the parliament building. The real question is what kind of legislative bill will be sprung on the opposition one month before the election? Will the incumbent party "pay back" the opposition for the opposition's move of opposing the HDZ [Croatian Democratic Union] "in a body" by concluding a temporary alliance? It all seems to be certain already: The incumbent party is changing the election system! That requires amending the election law which is already on its first reading in parliamentary procedure.

Whatever they have asked for, they will get—is the briefest explanation of the changes in the election system. Elections to the Zupanija Chamber, for the 63 new deputies, would by all appearances be conducted on the principle of the proportional system. This specifically means that the voters will vote for a party slate, not for a party name. The zupanija slates are what were the government slates in the August elections. So, the number of zupanija seats obtained will depend on the percentage of the vote which each party slate gets. In practical terms, the strongest party in a zupanija can get even two of the three seats, a slightly weaker party can get one zupanija seat, and the third need not get any. Although provision was made for each zupanija to be divided into three electoral units, it seems that this will also be changed, and the entire zupanija will be one electoral unit in which the three candidates to go to the Zupanija Chamber will be elected.

What will the opposition do? Will there be a divorce of the "party marriage" so that again they enter the election battle independently, or will they do so together, in spite of the anticipated difficulties over an agreement on candidates? It is obvious that the tussles are yet to come; they can be expected even during the session of the Assembly.

The opposition has been constantly demanding a change in the system, it has been calling for the candidates to be elected by a plurality with a possible second round. But it is not ready to boycott the election because of the election system simply because the opposition knows that everywhere in the world, and so it must be with us, it is the right of the incumbent party to choose in keeping with its own interests the election system which best suits it. In other words, the opposition will not boycott the election because of the election system, but it will use this for debate in the Assembly. The opposition could boycott the election because of the way in which the law is implemented. The demand for the election commissions to be mixed, that is, to be based on party, might be grounds for a boycott, because the voters might honor those grounds. The incumbent party did not accept the opposition demand for multiparty commissions.

Even though the Zupanija Chamber is considered an "honorary" body without great power, election of its members is an important political event, because it could reinforce the political strength of the incumbent party if it should win one-sidedly. Or weaken it if the results are not as expected.

A very important fact should be mentioned: If an election system based on zupanija slates is adopted, this will mean that foreigners, regardless of where they live, can vote. They would not have to come to Croatia, but would vote in offices abroad, in consulates or Croatian embassies.

It is anticipated that yet another change of the election law will be proposed: That is, that the proverbial provision about freezing mandates would be given its place even in the election law. What would that mean? Simply that the party slate can consist of well-known names in the party that would carry on their coattails the less well-known substitutes, but later it is the party's option who will actually sit in the Zupanija Chamber, the person with the attractive name, or the one with a less attractive name.

These are all only suggestions of what still has not happened. Many dilemmas will be resolved in this afternoon's press conference of the government. But whatever is heard there, it will not affect one fact: The conclusion of the sixth session of the Assembly will quite certainly be stormy. Will the opposition make a big to-do and walk out of the session?

Illegal Serbian Immigration to Slovenia Viewed

93BA0443D Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 30 Dec 92 p 3

[Article by Milovan Dimitric, Vlado Podgorsek, and Ivan Gerencer: "More and More People Who Do Not Exist"]

[Text] *Slovenia has become the promised land for people from the former Yugoslavia; "visiting" Serbs; unknown faces in Slovene areas.*

Crnomelj, Metlika, Kocevje, Novo Mesto, Brezice, 29 Dec—The number of inhabitants of Slovenia is also increasing in Bela Krajina, Dolenjsko, and Kocevje, quietly and almost completely imperceptibly. A face here and there is unknown, and after three weeks it is seen again, and perhaps some other time, behind some windowpane.

Slovenia is becoming the promised land. This is more and more primarily for the Serbs, those from Bosnia-Hercegovina and those from Serbia. The Muslims and Croats have started to go back or else are at the reception centers. Even those who were staying with relatives are leaving individually. A technician in the Novo Mesto settlement of Slavka Gruma, who was hosting in her apartment six adults and eight children both closely and distantly related, has been left by herself. The area around Bosanski Brod is allegedly so safe that her relatives decided to go back. The woman says that there really is more room now, but life is harder, since there is less money. Previously she received food and also some money, but now that her Muslim relatives are not there anymore, she is once again depending only on her wages, and no longer on state assistance for refugees.

On the other hand, it is now more crowded at her neighbor's place. Relatives who no longer felt comfortable in the "Serbian Krajina" have arrived. Muslim fighters are allegedly shooting around their village. For the time being the fellow has not registered them as refugees, since he is afraid that they will be expelled or at least asked about how they came to Slovenia.

There are several prescriptions. In this specific case, they came across the border in four stages: three times in a car with a Croatian license plate, and one with a Bosnian one. That is what the neighbors claim; the "host" is only talking about a visit. Visits can also be longer ones. This one has already lasted for a month.

Another neighbor is more cautious. His relatives had to take the license plates off both cars so that they would not attract attention, and the cars are parked unregistered in a parking lot around the block. The neighbor is supporting them as well as he can, but it is difficult, since this business has already lasted for almost a year. He does not dare to ask for assistance, because things could get complicated. The "guests," in fact, had to leave Croatia suddenly when the JA [Yugoslav Army] withdrew from the sea. The man claims that it is because they are Serbs and that is why everyone hates them. Could they have done something to someone? I ask you! In any case, they do not open the door to anyone in the evening.

They Were Driven Here by Malicious Rumors

A retired officer who taught Novo Mesto policemen years ago, who were then still militiamen, that they had to use the Serbian language in dealing with him because in the 20 years that he had lived in Slovenia he had not needed to learn Slovene, also has guests. His pension is a good one and quite adequate for guests as well. How long will they be guests? They are always welcome, he assures his neighbors. They were driven here by malicious rumors that are circulating in Banja Luka. Those rumors claim that UN Secretary General Butrus Butrus-Ghali is under severe pressure from the enemies of Serbdom, and that it is only with the greatest difficulty that he is saving his Serbian, Christian brothers from the Muslim beasts, who know him quite well as an Egyptian Copt. Allegedly he also can no longer completely rely on the Russians, and he is afraid that he will have to give in. That, however, means that it is necessary to lift anchor before that... and the new residents are here.

A worker at one of the Bela Krajina enterprises has already had his mother staying with him for half a year. He brought the woman home at night, and she has not shown herself outside the apartment for half a year now. The man is afraid that she will be expelled. He can support her, but he is just afraid about how he will do it if she gets sick. She cannot go home because battles are raging in her town. There are difficulties with food, and even though the woman is of the right nationality (Serbian), she is afraid. Her son, in fact, is in Slovenia and is a traitor, since he did not want to cooperate with the KOS [counterintelligence service], and it is all on record. That is why she preferred to flee. The house? What will be, will be.

People in Kocevje can say that they are meeting new faces. Pleasant people, with a decent appearance, are walking around the town, looking at shops, and getting bored. Some of them are taking children for a walk. A month ago the locals asked one of those people as a joke where Podgorska Street was—they were standing on it—and the man only muttered something in Serbo-Croatian.

Some former JA officers who left Slovenia along with the JA are also reappearing again. What are they living on? Who knows? Where are they living? Some people claim that they have returned to their apartments; others claim that it is not possible, since those apartments have been taken over, but no one cares to tail them.

"Slovene Obligation to the Serbs"

Relatives from Serbia remembered some retired officers who live in Slovenia, and they came. Allegedly things are difficult in Serbia. What if it is bombarded? "Slovenia is nevertheless still ours, since we defended its borders for 70 years. We also benevolently let it leave Yugoslavia. It therefore still owes us something," one of the relatives ingenuously explained to the neighbors; and Slovenia has become a refuge.

Some of these people who do not officially exist are cautious, especially those from Bosnia-Hercegovina. They also had additional documents made (it costs 700 German marks). One can hardly speak of forged ones, since the forms are original ones, and likewise the stamps and everything else, since all of it was seized during the occupation of municipalities in various areas. In those documents they become Jovankas, Fatimas, Vojislavs, Mehmeds, etc., just in case someone will possibly be persecuting Serbs. Allegedly there have already been a great many such cases in the past, and supposedly numerous officially declared Muslims are actually Serbs. They just did not care for it in the assembly camps, since they would allegedly have been discovered too quickly there by other Muslims, since the various fake Fatimas would not have mastered the religious customs.

How are they reaching Slovenia? Supposedly the green border is the most suitable. Now, during the holidays, there are also many attempts with cars with foreign license plates (primarily Swiss). The starting point is usually Karlovac.

One can hear criticisms in Bela Krajina that some locals along the border help people to get across the border and the Kolpa in return for money. That is all unprovable. The fact is, however, that in many places it is possible to get across the border, and that under the cover of night it is not even that difficult to do it on foot, e.g., near Zunici and elsewhere. With cars, however, one can get across concrete bridges where there is no customs post, and at the right moment slip away in a few seconds.

If there is war in Serbia or if there are effective sanctions by some chance, there will be even more "guests," experts claim.

"Illegals" in Brezice Apartments

More and more citizens are also coming to the Brezice Internal Affairs Secretariat to ask about residence permits and how to get someone across the border, even though they already have one or more individuals from the south of the former Yugoslavia at home. In general, in the Brezice border municipality, where there was still a strong army base last year with JA members' families and retirees, there has recently been an increase, probably also because of the winter and the well-known difficulties elsewhere, in the number of people arriving from the south to visit relatives and acquaintances. According to some information there are about 400-500 different "illegals" staying in apartments without coming outside.

The hosts are obviously quite familiar with the legal process, since if someone is caught within 48 hours, expulsion from the country is carried out immediately, but otherwise the process is considerably longer. When individuals from Serbia or Bosnia are involved, the misdemeanor judge will issue a decree on expulsion, to be sure, but there is nowhere to put them, since the neighbors at the border will not accept them. It is not possible to force them, and furthermore we do not have any halfway houses here where people could be sent, and the Red Cross is not even accepting refugees. If we seriously wanted to get rid of someone, we would have to take him to the Hungarian border, give him a passport and a departure and entry visa valid for three months—then he can quite legally cross back and forth for that long—and the police also have to give him 50 marks for expenses! It is not hard to guess the reasoning of all those who come here as foreigners across the green border.

Ivan Kapulin, secretary of the Internal Affairs Secretariat of the Brezice SO [Municipal Assembly], admits the impotence of his office and the police, since both are decreeing measures that are virtually unworkable.

It is consequently not surprising that the Brezice muncipality is the most vulnerable to an influx of foreigners, since the Obrezje border crossing is also the largest international crossing on the southern border. In addition to the refugees, foreigners, and fictitiously registered individuals seeking permanent residence in Brezice so that they can receive Slovene pensions, there are also some people in this city, including former JA officers and retirees, without residence permits and without citizenship. Recently Serbs who lived in Croatia and became unwanted there have also been arriving. They try to obtain permanent residence with acquaintances in the Brezice municipality, by proposing that vacation homes and wine cellars be turned into housing facilities. If they received a temporary residence permit, then applications for citizenship and thus other rights would follow, or else requests for political asylum. The circle would thus be closed and there would be more "Slovenes."

Although the police at the Pomurje border crossing with Hungary at Dolga Vas, through which most of the travelers from the former Yugoslav republics come (with the exception of Croatia, of course, turn back dozens of Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians, Montenegrins, and Macedonians every week because they obviously do not meet all the conditions for temporary residence in our country (they are mostly "short" of the money that they require for residence in Slovenia), the number of travelers from the southern republics who come to Slovenia to "visit relatives" is not decreasing at all. No one knows exactly who they intend to visit and for how long. The Sobota branch of the Republic Employment Institute expects that many of them will try to obtain employment, primarily with private businessmen and tradesmen. After 15 October, which was the deadline for applying and issuing work permits for all foreigners who have already been in Slovenia for a long time, the Sobota branch rejected 20-30 applications for the issue of work permits to foreigners. Private entrepreneurs and tradesmen are very persistent when they want to employ foreigners.

Work Permits for Soccer Players

The very strict standards for issuing work permits, however, obviously do not apply to foreign athletes in Pomurje. The success of Mura's soccer players and the desperate efforts of the leadership and sponsors of the Potrosnik soccer club in Bestinci have encouraged a real trade in soccer players from abroad, mostly from Bosnia-Hercegovina. Volleyball and handball clubs, which employ trainers and players from abroad, have also gradually acquired the soccer players' habits.

And why do private entrepreneurs and tradesmen insist on employing foreigners, even though the Sobota branch of the Employment Institute is offering to have them employ one of the registered unemployed workers with suitable training? There are certainly several reasons: Some of them are related somehow to the foreigners or are good friends. In very many cases, there is also exploitation of the foreign workers, who work for lower wages than domestic workers.

The most persistent are the fruit and vegetable vendors from Macedonia and Kosovo, who are brand-new citizens of Slovenia and also have their own enterprises. Immediately after they became Slovene citizens, they also invited close and distant relatives to come to Slovenia. Later, when they do not succeed in arranging Slovene citizenship for them, they try to employ them in their own enterprises. The Sobota branch of the Employment Institute is not taken in by such naive actions, and consistently rejects such applications for employing foreigners.

Poor Economy Causing 'Crumbling' of Social Peace

LD2001165293 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1446 GMT 20 Jan 93

[Report by Igor Saranovic]

[Text] Ljubljana, Jan 20 (TANJUG)—Social peace which has been artificially maintained in Slovenia for several months, is crumbling lately under the pressure of increasingly frequent strikes and calls for more work stoppages. The artificial, political maintenance of comparatively high salaries is fighting a losing battle against the Slovenian economic realities, bleaker than ever before.

Slovenia, now an independent state, is the former republic whose secession from Yugoslavia triggered off armed clashes in its territories culminating in the wars in Croatia [words indistinct] Bosnia-Hercegovina.

The average monthly salary in Slovenia is about 600 dem [deutsch marks] (in contrast with the other former Yugoslav republics where it does not exceed 100 dem), but its sagging economy has proved to be without proper cover for it.

The announced, easily promised transformation of its economic system—the favourite slogan of politicians who led the republic to its independence—and well-being "just around the corner," as soon as the country becomes independent, are a long cry from reality.

Instead, strikes are rocking Slovenia even in activities [as received] which until recently were considered sound, and new investments, fresh foreign capital and the announced business revival are not yet in sight.

Workers on the Slovenian railways—whose income dropped by as many as 70 per cent and the number of lines shrank to one-fifth since Slovenia's secession from Yugoslavia and the break-up of the united system—have called a general strike for the end of January because they have not yet received their wages for December.

Teachers are also protesting under the motto, "In Slovenia, free schools are schools without pay." A similar situation is reported in medical services, road haulage and some other activities.

Officials say that Metalna, a machine-building giant with about 2,700 employees in Slovenia's second-biggest town of Maribor, will have to close down because of enormous losses.

The Slovenian state reserves are gradually melting. After the secession, no adequate substitute has been found for markets in other former Yugoslav republics which were the major buyers of Slovenian goods. On the other hand, the Western markets are increasingly closing.

Economists, whose voices the authorities prefer not to hear, describe the current strike wave as auguring more troubles in the national economy. They say that a sobering in this tiny country of two million people, which was considered the most developed territory of former Yugoslavia, may bring unemployment to 150 thousand within a matter of months.

Federal

Seselj Calls For Cosic To Resign

AU2101175293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Dr. Vojislav Seselj, chairman of the Serbian Radical Party, has held his regular news conference. He said that it is good that the Assembly of the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina accepted the constitutional principles, although they are not favorable for the Serbian people. Vladimir Nikolic has the details:

[Begin recording] [Nikolic] By accepting the constitutional principles, the Serbian people of Bosnia-Hercegovina have proven to the whole world that they favor the peace option and, in addition, have put the Croat and Muslim sides into a difficult diplomatic position, Vojislav Seselj said.

In our opinion, the real diplomatic battle is yet to be waged at the Geneva conference, particularly about the borders and the text of the constitution. Seselj reiterated his stance that a state such as that proposed by Vance and Owen does not exist anywhere, so it cannot exist in Bosnia-Hercegovina either, the reason being the failure to recognize the actual situation.

The Serbian Radical Party would like to help Dobrica Cosic, whom it remembers as one of the first dissidents in communist Yugoslavia and the first leader of the Serbian opposition. In our opinion, Cosic is a great writer, whose work is of eternal value and we are therefore genuinely sorry that he has made disastrous political mistakes, Seselj pointed out.

[Seselj] We are genuinely sorry that Dobrica Cosic was elected president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a post which he is not up to. We share the blame that he was elected, but the mistake must be corrected.

[Nikolic] Resignation is the easiest way for Dobrica Cosic to step down from his post while preserving a minimum of dignity and honor that nobody would later question, Seselj said and added:

[Seselj] Otherwise, Dobrica Cosic will be facing a troublesome replacement procedure in the Federal Assembly. The Serbian Radical Party is already preparing an entire study, with which it will prove that Dobrica Cosic has on several occasions violated the Constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. On this basis we are going to demand his replacement if he fails to tender his resignation in a few days.

[Nikolic] In this respect, deputies of the Serbian Radical Party will demand through the Federal Assembly an assessment by the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia. And there are sufficient things to show that Cosic acted in violation of the constitutional provisions, Seselj said among other things. [end recording]

Cosic Calls Talks with Italy's Colombo 'Friendly'

AU2101173293 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 21 Jan 92

[Text] Here is a report by our journalist Azra Nuhefendic about the talks between Dobrica Cosic and Italian foreign minister Emilio Colombo:

[Begin recording] [Nuhefendic] Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic and Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo first held one-on-one talks that lasted 40 minutes and then continued accompanied by associates at a working luncheon. After the talks, President Cosic and Minister Colombo made statements for journalists. Asked to assess his talks with Minister Colombo, President Cosic said the following:

[Cosic] We held these talks at a very important and crucial moment for solving the crisis in Bosnia-Hercegovina, in the wake of the decision made by the Serbian assembly to accept [words indistinct] the constitutional principles proposed by the Geneva conference, and at a moment when additional political and diplomatic efforts are needed by the EC and all those interested in peace in the Balkans and in the Yugoslav territories. Therefore, held at such a moment, our talks were friendly, we have agreed on all the important points, and devoted special attention to the role Italy is playing in solving the Yugoslav crisis. We particularly respect the firmly friendly efforts Italy has been making concerning the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and toward the peoples living in the territory of the former Yugoslavia and its interest in the future of these peoples. Of course, we also devoted great attention to the humanitarian aid that Italy has sent to Bosnia-Hercegovina, as well as to its efforts toward finding a peaceful solution. I can particularly emphasize the role Italy is playing as a neighboring and a Mediterranean country and as a prominent EC member, and I can also emphasize the role Minister Colombo is playing as a prominent and wise politician and diplomat, who, I am convinced, will help us reach a just and lasting peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina and a normal situation in this part of the world.

[Nuhefendic] This is how Minister Colombo assessed the three-hour talks with President Dobrica Cosic:

[Colombo in Italian with passage by passage translation into Serbo-Croatian] First of all, I had the opportunity to meet President Cosic again at an extremely important moment for the development of the negotiations held about issues concerning Bosnia-Hercegovina. The (?second) purpose of my visit was to thank President Cosic for his action, in particular during the latest Geneva meeting when he made an effort to help the principles from Vance's and Owen's plan be accepted, after which the Serbian assembly in Bosnia adopted the plan. To us and to me personally this looked like a moment full of hope. In the view of the people who follow these things and who are neither cynics nor skeptics, there are moments when one is obsessed by the development of historical facts and historical events, particularly when violence is involved. Therefore, [words indistinct] at the meeting of the Serbian republic it seemed to us that we were being freed from a nightmare.

Our thoughts, mine and those of President Cosic, lead us to conclude that one should harbor hope, but that one should also be realistic, and there is also concern.

[Nuhefendic] Later, Italian Minister Emilio Colombo pointed out that it was their joint opinion that a continuation of the talks in Geneva will mean new difficult moments, but if what has been built thus far breaks down, we know that the situation may become even worse than it is now. Therefore one must make an effort toward working as fast and as well as possible. I told Mr. Cosic that in my opinion it would be easier to reach a solution if one keeps to the proposed plan, he said. Knowing the spirit [word indistinct] of President Cosic, he went on, I allowed myself to tell him that one should not only stop the violence, but also resume full respect for human rights and close all the camps as soon as possible.

We are ready to help some protected zones to be created, Italian Minister Emilio Colombo said after the talks with President Cosic. [end recording]

More on Colombo's Visit

AU2201141693 Rome ANSA in English 1028 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] (ANSA) Belgrade, January 21—If the hopes raised by the agreement of Bosnian Serbs to pursue international peace negotiations in Geneva are dashed, "the situation could become worse than before," said Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo of Italy at the end of a two and-a-half hour talk here with the president of the Serbian-Montenegrin federation, Dobrica Cosic.

In this meeting, and conferring with Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic, Serbian Orthodox Patriarch Pavle and Belgrade archbishop Msgr. Perko, Colombo guaranteed the cooperation of his nation in the search for peace and future reconstruction. Reconstruction can begin, however, only in states which are "pacified, democratic and in which human rights are fully respected," he said.

As preparations went ahead for returning to the Geneva talks Saturday, the visiting minister noted that all the sides involved in nine months of civil war in Bosnia-Hercegovina had embarked, at least in words, on the road to peace. Here, he firmly reminded authorities of the position of the European Community and the international community and the need to follow the show of "good will (with) concrete facts."

Among these facts are respect for the air exclusion zone over Bosnia and respect for human rights. On reports of widespread sexual violence against Muslim women in the republic, Colombo said "clarifications" must be provided "if these accusations are false (and) there must be the elimination of these forms of violence if they are true."

Responding to Milosevic's request for the removal of sanctions against Serbia, the minister said this step will depend on the conduct of the Serbs and, as matters stand, does not appear feasible.

Colombo's talk with the Serbian president was described by the two men as "positive." The foreign minister reported that he used the meeting to illustrate the Italian and EC position on ex-Yugoslavia and on the hostilities in Bosnia "with extreme clarity."

He said that as a result of his statement, it must now appear clear that the removal of the embargo is unthinkable and that any future decision will come against a backdrop of "positive conduct" on the side of the Serbian-Montenegrin federation, which has not gained the diplomatic recognition of the EC nations.

Colombo also insisted that Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian detention centers in Bosnia must be closed down and that some 2,500 detainees, according to International Red Cross estimates, could be taken to "protected areas" which Italy and other countries might set up in the republic.

The problem of the detention camps, he noted, is where to relocate the people released. Some have been accepted abroad and others have returned to their places of origin but these solutions are not feasible for a number of these detainees.

Thus, added Colombo, these people might be taken to "protected areas." Italy, he reported, has discussed with Bosnian authorities the establishment of one such area about 50 kilometers from Sarajevo.

Milosevic's role in Geneva in gaining acceptance of the international peace plan forged by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen, the cochairmen of Geneva peace conference, was described by the minister as "positive." The president responded by saying he was prepared to usher in peace.

"We will do everything possible to contribute to peace. A civil war like the one under way in Bosnia cannot be won by anyone and no one can say he is free from responsibility," said Milosevic.

"There are only innocent victims. It is in Serbia's preeminent interest to achieve peace," he added.

Also today, Colombo conferred on the telephone with Lord Owen before leaving Belgrade in the early evening. He had planned on travelling on to Sarajevo, the Bosnian capital, but was forced to put off the visit for security reasons. Within a few days, it was learned, Colombo will visit both Bosnia and Croatia.

In Rome, Premier Giuliano Amato told reporters that he will urge a government initiative on ex-Yugoslavia during a cabinet meeting scheduled for tomorrow. Addressing a press conference after a meeting with Marco Pannella and his delegation of European federalists, the premier said, "in concert with the foreign minister, I will recommend a government initiative on the specific problems of ex-Yugoslavia during tomorrow's cabinet meeting."

Sources Say Foreign Visits Prove Blockade Easing

LD2101230393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1945 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 21 (TANJUG)—Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo's visit to Belgrade, begun on Thursday [21 January], is a moderate proof that an international political and diplomatic blockade of Yugoslavia begins to give in, Belgrade political circles assessed on Thursday.

Norwegian Foreign Minister Thorvald Stoltenberg is to arrive on Friday for a brief visit in Belgrade to meet with Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic.

Both visits aim at gaining first-hand information about developments in resolving the Yugoslav crisis.

President Cosic is planning a visit to Greece, presidential advisor Svetozar Stojanovic told a press conference on Thursday. The visit, recently proposed by Greek Prime Minister Constantine Mitsotakis, was accepted by Cosic but its date is yet to be set.

The Yugoslav president is in contact with some other statesmen, Stojanovic said but did not specify.

Bosnian Serbs' Acceptance of Peace Plan Welcomed

LD2101233993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2132 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 21 (TANJUG)—Wednesday's [20 January] decision of the parliament of Bosnian Serbs to accept the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina proposed at the negotiations in Geneva, was described as a reasonable step towards peace in most commentaries in the former Yugoslavia on Thursday.

At present, the decision represents a definite victory of political ripeness of the Serbian people, said the government of the Republic of Serb Krajina (RSK), adding in a statement that the world could now see Serbs were for peace, not war.

Milan Babic, the president of the Serbian Democratic Party (SDS) in the RSK, said that by accepting the Geneva plan Bosnian Serbs renounced their statehood.

Babic believes that the Parliament of Bosnian Serbs, by accepting the constitutional organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina, dissolved itself and "annulled the idea about united Serbian states."

Babic is the former president of the RSK which was proclaimed last year within the administrative borders of Croatia where Serbs are the majority population in reply to Croatia's secession from Yugoslavia and attempts to reduce their status to that of a national minority.

Cedomir Mirkovic, the president of the non-parliamentary Social Democratic Party (SDP) in the Yugoslav republic of Serbia, said that acceptance of the Geneva plan "opens the door to peace in Bosnia", and offers a chance for democratic changes in Serbia because it deprives politicians, who counted on war, of arguments.

The parliamentary new democracy—Movement for Serbia believes that the Bosnian Serbs' parliament decision will disarm the prejudice of international circles and discredit the political option of (Moslem leader) Alija Izetbegovic.

The Socialist Party of (the Yugoslav Republic of) Montenegro also believes the decision to be a "rational political act."

The leader of the Croatian state community Herceg-Bosnia, Mate Boban, said the Serbs' acceptance of the Geneva plan was important for the coming together of the three nations in Bosnia-Hercegovina.

According to the peace plan for Bosnia-Hercegovina, this former Yugoslav Republic would be divided into ten provinces with broad autonomy, and all three constituent nations (Moslems, Serbs and Croats) would have the right of veto on key decisions of the central authorities.

Serbian, Montenegrin Presidents To Attend Talks

LD2101220793 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2101 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 21 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic, Serbian President Slobodan Milosevic and Montenegrin President Momir Bulatovic will take part in the resumed Geneva peace talks on January 23.

The announcement was made after a session of the Yugoslav Committee for Coordinating State Policy, on Thursday [21 January] evening in Belgrade.

The committee debated the Serbian republic in Bosnia-Hercegovina Parliament's decision to accept the constitutional principles for Bosnia-Hercegovina, and the continuation of the Geneva peace talks.

The session was attended by the delegation of Bosnian Serbs headed by Radovan Karadzic [Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina president].

Ministry Urges Direct Security Council Control

LD2101194193 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1857 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan. 21 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Foreign Ministry said on Thursday the U.N. resolutions should be implemented under direct Security Council control.

Carrying out activities without the adequate Security Council decision upsets the system of international relations, set up after World War Two and based on the U.N. Charter and other international documents, the ministry said in a statement.

It expressed concern about the military operation in Iraq, saying Yugoslavia maintained that the international disputes should be resolved by peaceful and political means.

The ministry expressed its "deep conviction that all U.N. decisions should be interpreted in the spirit of a restrictive use of force, and international relations built by peaceful means and on the basis of international law."

It said that all coercive measures, whether in the form of a military operation or international sanctions, always affected civilians. "Explanations about technical errors cannot justify the lives of innocent civilians who will fall as the victims of a U.N.-led operation," the statement added.

It said Iraq was obliged to implement the relevant U.N. resolutions, but also the other countries—primarily the superpowers which participated in the latest intervention in Iraq, were obliged to implement the Security Council decisions and act only within the U.N. mandate.

Commission Head Decries 'Politicizing' War Crimes

LD2101232393 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2025 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, Jan. 21 (TANJUG)—Secretary of the Yugoslav State Commission on War Crimes Milan Bulajic said on Thursday [21 January] it was necessary to stop politicizing war crimes and then [words indistinct] resources in order to prove that the genocide of Serbian people was committed in the territories of the ex-Yugoslav Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Hercegovina.

Bulajic, at a news conference here, sharply criticized the federal parliament, the Federal Government, the competent federal ministries, and certain bodies of the Serb Republic (R.S.) in Bosnia-Hercegovina for having not presented to the world the truth about the plight of the Serbs.

"If we fail to prove that this country is not an aggressor, and if we fail to point to those who are to be blamed for war conflicts, we will suffer heavy consequences, inclusive of war damage that will have to be paid out by future generations," Bulajic cautioned.

The United Nations imposed sanctions on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Republics of Serbia and Montenegro) laying on it all the blame for war in Bosnia-Hercegovina despite the fact that even U.N. documents noted that the Army of the F.R.Y. was not fighting on the soil of this ex-Yugoslav Republic.

Bulajic recalled that the U.S. Government alone had sent to the U.N. its four reports on war crimes allegedly perpetrated by Serbs. The reports, he said, contain some of the most terrible accusations. Such accusations had required diplomatic steps to be taken with the U.N. and with U.S. state organs, along with letting the world public learn the truth, said Bulajic. Instead, a meagre protest was sent to the wife of the U.S. charge d'affaires in Belgrade, asking her to see to it that misinformation in the said reports would be denied, Bulajic said.

Bulajic said that a book on the sufferings of Serbs would soon be brought out. Entitled "War Crimes and Genocide," the book will be edited in Serbian and English languages.

EC Sanctions Monitor Views Extent of Violations

AU2101190893 Paris AFP in English 1845 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Brussels, Jan 22 (AFP)—U.N. sanctions against Serbia are leaking badly but it is the former Yugoslav republic of Macedonia that will suffer most if they are tightened, a senior European Community official warned here Friday [actual date unclear].

Richardt Vork, who helps monitor existing U.N. sanctions against Serbia, said that Macedonia had been forced to nurture trade links with Serbia, partly because Greece was blocking the flow of western goods to the Macedonians.

"If you close all Serbia's borders, it might be effective against Serbia but it will make things hard for Macedonia," he said in an interview with AFP.

Greece is under considerable criticism for its hostility towards Macedonia. Athens has blocked E.C. recognition of Macedonia because the former Yugoslav republic has taken on the name of the northern Greek province of Macedonia.

It maintains that this implies territorial ambitions on Greek territory.

But, said Vork, one result of the Greek hostility is that Macedonia is having to depend on Serbia for its trade lifelines just at the time when the United Nations is threatening to cut off Serbia from the rest of the world.

Vork is coordinator in Brussels of the E.C.'s SAMS (sanctions assistance missions) unit, which helps border guards in countries surrounding Serbia catch sanctions-busters.

The unit has 35 European, U.S. and Canadian customs specialists working with local customs officers in Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and Macedonia who are trying to brake the sanctions-busting flow along Serbia's border.

In one recent case, a Hungarian customs officer turned to his British colleague to help verify whether a truck-load of frozen strawberries on its way from Serbia to Denmark really came from Bosnia, as the driver's papers said.

The Briton contacted SAMS, which quickly established that the strawberries were Serbian, and that the Danish importer had been consistently violating the embargo of Serbia.

"Without us, the Hungarian customs officers would never have uncovered that fraud, for lack of rapid contact with the outside world," Vork said.

Other examples of sanctions-busting include a steady stream of Serbian-made clothing exports without labels, accompanied by false papers claiming Bosnian or Macedonian origin.

"Judging by the number of so-called Macedonian exporters which have sprung up recently, you could be led to believe that that little country has become the great economic power of the Balkans," Vork said.

The SAMS operation, commissioned by the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) and run by the European Commission, was set up last September for three months. Now it has been extended to June.

"We'll certainly stay longer than that," Vork said. In four months, the SAMS unit has caught more than 800 sanctions-busters.

But it is badly over-stretched. The 35 foreign customs specialists, all of them volunteers, are trying to plug a Serbian border which stretches for more than 1,000 kilometres (625 miles).

Over 700 trucks cross the Serbo-Hungarian border every day, and then there is also the busy barge traffic on the Danube to watch.

"Recently, (Serb President) Slobodan Milosevic congratulated Serbian businesses for having stood up to the sanctions for so long. This probably means that the Serbs are still managing to trade," Vork said.

He added that oil deliveries to Serbia made up the bulk of the sanctions-busting activity.

Imported TV Equipment Hijacked, Police Accused

AU2101173393 Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 93 p 25

[Article by U. Komlenovic: "A Conspiracy of Silence"]

[Text] The mysterious hijacking of the truck carrying equipment for the Independent Television Studio B [NTSB] still arouses doubts, speculation, and rumors, and serves at the same time as a good occasion for political promotion. The leader of the Serbian Radical Movement [Vojislav Seselj] has recently boasted in public that the hijacking was performed by his people and demonstrated considerable knowledge of the contents of the shipment. The NTSB director claims that the goal of Seselj's statement is to cause bewilderment and explains:

"Equipment described by Seselj has nothing to do with the stolen items. We actually took it on lease for seven days from a Dutch firm, so that our coverage of the final phase of the elections could be transmitted through the "Astra" satellite and viewed by people from Yugoslavia and most parts of Europe. For such contracts one does not have to pay duty on goods, because they do not stay in the country—they are only leased. As for the stolen equipment, the very fact that all customs certifications also disappeared reveals who is behind the action."

The press agency BINA even more directly accuses the legal authorities of the hijacking, claiming that the goods were taken by people from the Institute for Security with the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Citing the circles "close to the Cabinet of the Serbian president," BINA claims that Mihalj Kertes decided on the action, Bozo Spasic, officer of the Serbian State Security Service, was in charge of execution, and that the Institute for Security os holding the equipment, intending to use it for "operative purposes." The Head of the Institute denied the information.

Regardless of the validity of the information, it is clear that involvement of the police in the case, or in other words its benevolence toward perpetrators, is an unmistakable detail when thinking of the hijacking. Such an impression is highlighted by the fact that the police have not still issued any official statement, although the hijacking happened more than 20 days ago. In view of such circumstances, the "interest of the investigation" cannot be a convincing excuse to remain silent.

The importer "Yugoslavia-Commerce" has also been strictly obeying the "conspiracy of silence" so that one cannot find out if the shipment was insured during its transportation from Budapest to Belgrade (the transportation from London to Budapest was insured by Sony, the deliverer). At NTSB they do not have such information, and, according to the director, they do not want to bother themselves with such minor problems, because "Yugoslavia-Commerce" has promised that the loss will be either repayed, or a new equipment will be provided. Some more information could have been received from the truck driver and representative of the transportation firm Kantor, that rented a bus with Bijeljina license plates from Belgradetrans. After the hijacking, the two of them were allegedly left intoxicated for five days in some basement near Indjija, about which we wrote in the last issue of VREME. They told Dusan Lakovic, director of

Yugoslavia-Commerce, their version, however, thereafter they went into hiding and silence—whether it is because of "interests of investigation", the protection of lives, or the protection of their purses, we can only guess.

The lack of more reliable information created free space for various speculations: According to one of them, the truck did not even cross the border, and the hijacking did not even happen. The other says that the hijacking was carried out by the police, or some of the paramilitary groups fostered by the authorities, and the goods can be found in Belgrade, or in Pale.... The secret can be revealed only by the results of investigation, but with the time going by, the suspicion about ever reaching the end of the investigation has arisen. In the meantime, highway robbery gains popularity: On a former imperial road Belgrade-Istanbul, near the Bulgarian border, a group of armed highwaymen robbed a bus carrying mostly smugglers. Gang leaders are obviously disregarding the fact that the Serbian president has placed security as a top national priority. Perhaps they are right.

Details on Belgrade TV Equipment Hijacking

93BA0485A Belgrade VREME in Serbo-Croatian 4 Jan 93 pp 18-19

[Article by Uros Komlenovic and Filip Svarm: "'Studio B' Robbed: Small Truck Robbery"]

[Text] *The holdup was carried out during the night of 18 and 19 December, but it did not become known until 25 December when the driver and shipping agent showed up before director Lakovic. It is hard to say why no one attempted during that period to find the lost truck, because director Lakovic, the driver, and the shipping agent refuse to comment publicly.*

Even several days later, the news of the holdup on a truck registered in Bijeljina that was transporting equipment for NTV [Independent Television] "Studio B" continues to attract public attention; the motives of the perpetrators of the holdup are considered to be political or criminal, while voices who doubt whether it even occurred are not rare. The entire incident, as we learned from the director and main editor of NTV "Studio B," Mr. Dragan Kojadinovic, occurred almost like in the movies. The truck crossed the Yugoslav-Hungarian border at Horgos. Less than a kilometer from the border crossing, it was overtaken by two cars which staged a collision. Then, unknown robbers drugged the drivers and drove the truck with the equipment off in an unknown direction. The abducted drivers did not come to until five days later, in some cellar in the vicinity of Indija, and in a way known perhaps only to them, they managed to make it to Belgrade.

Power of Television

The money for the equipment that was supposed to arrive at NTV was paid by the "International Media Fund" in Washington. Mr. Kojadinovic says that $236,000 was sent by money order to Great Britain before the sanctions were imposed. After NTV appealed to Federal Prime Minister Mr. Milan Panic, the UN Committee for Sanctions approved the import transaction. The equipment was acquired at the London branch of "Sony," and "Jugoslavija komerc" was chosen as the importer.

"'Jugoslavija komerc' is a company that has long worked with 'Sony,' and we had confidence in it also because of its many years of experience with similar transactions," said Dragan Kojadinovic.

Thus, there were no obstacles. Aside from the fact that the equipment was valuable, thus making its import more meaningful, and because of the fact that similar goods had not crossed the border since the economic blockade was imposed. Regulations are very strict, so that even the all-powerful RTS [Radio-Television Serbia] acknowledged six months ago that it is in a technological squeeze. In the meantime, new television broadcasters have started up in the territory of B-H [Bosnia-Hercegovina] and Krajina. They have no problems with transmitters and repeaters—Pljesevica, Kozara, Celavac, etc. have been "liberated"—but they do have problems with studio equipment, which even RTS can no longer provide, to say nothing of imports.

It should be noted that the missing NTV equipment (three cameras, 10 monitors, cabling, and other auxiliary equipment) was intended for a new studio for that media establishment. Since NTV's editorial policy is well-known, the disappearance of the equipment acquires an additional political dimension.

"Only a month ago we were warned by our friends that we would never get this equipment," says Dragan Kojadinovic. "It was said that there would be sabotage on the road, or in the customs warehouse. The threat was repeated 15 days ago, so that we insisted that the equipment be cleared through customs in Belgrade. It did not occur to us to provide it with an armed escort; we left the transport up to the importer, refusing to believe that Chicago-style laws apply in this country. However..."

Naturally, the missing equipment is important to NTV, but even without it work can continue as in the past. It has no effect whatsoever on the rise in NTV ratings, but what is not necessary to this establishment is necessary to someone else. Thus, it is indicative that on the same day that NTV announced the holdup, TV Journal reported that a "group of citizens from Vojvodina has presented TV equipment to Channel S." The report was later denied, and in this way it was learned that the equipment in question was intended for "Radio Trebinje." Rumors are circulating around Belgrade that a mysterious transport, escorted by strong police forces, arrived at the RTS building.

Strange Coincidences

This entire case is full of unclear and unspoken elements. Most of all, it is uncertain whether the goods even crossed the border. The head of customs in Subotica, Dragan Ivetic, alleges that he "is not familiar with the actual situation, because he cannot find any written traces," but he agrees with the hypothesis that the equipment could have entered "with other goods or under the name of other goods." The holdup itself, if it even happened, was carried out in such a professional manner that it is completely out of the question to think that "ordinary street bandits" were involved. The staging of a collision only one kilometer from the border crossing, the abduction and drugging of the driver and the shipping company's agent, and the disappearance without a trace indicate exceptionally good organization. Besides, the assailants had to have accurate information on the truck, the time, and the location of the border crossing.

"I think that this was a spectacularly carried out robbery with a big organization behind it, and the whole operation is being covered up politically," says the well-known criminologist Dr. Vladan Vasilijevic. "There are criminal organizations in the country capable of carrying out any 'job.' If the report on TV Novi Sad is true about the 'gift from a group of citizens,' then it is clear that the government of the Republic of Serbia is behind all this, with the blessing of the Serbian government. After all, it is known that Serbia controls customs, and 'special forces' from Krajina can often be seen at border crossings. Perhaps the truck did not cross the border at the official crossing, perhaps it was ordered not to register something—let us recall the smuggling of arms in Croatia in 1991."

In any event, the importer, "Jugoslavija komerc," hired a private shipper, the "Kantor" company, whose representative was in the truck with the driver. If one can believe what they told the director of "Jugoslavija komerc," Mr. Dusan Lakovic, which he passed on to Mr. Kojadinovic, the driver and shipping agent were drugged for five days, and then they woke up in a cellar not far from Indija. The holdup was carried out on the night of 18 and 19 December, but it did not become known until 25 December when the driver and shipping agent showed up before director Lakovic. It is hard to say why no one attempted during that period to find the lost truck, because director Lakovic, the driver, and the shipping agent refuse to comment publicly. The director of NTV explains:

"That was a period of big crowds at the border crossings because of the beginning of the Christmas holidays and the strike by truck drivers, besides which we here were engrossed with the elections. That is why we were not too surprised when the truck was late, especially since we knew that the driver had left earlier for Budapest and was spending three days there taking care of unfinished business. Even the shipping agent's wife was not especially worried."

The Subotica, Belgrade, republican, and even the federal police are silent. The exception is a statement by the head of the Department for Combatting Property Crimes of the SUP [Secretariat for Internal Affairs] of Belgrade, Bogoljub Lazic: "The city SUP has taken certain action on this case, but cannot provide any information outside the Information Service of SUPA [expansion unknown]." Thus, all those who know more are not saying anything. In this way, certain questions remain open: With what were the drivers drugged, are the medical findings documented, who owns the house in which they woke up in the cellar, who all knew what sort of goods were in the truck, was it insured, the time and location of the border crossing...?

Fear

The director of NTV does not want to concern himself with the details of the holdup. His establishment entrusted the import transaction to "Jugoslavija komerc," which is obligated to compensate for damages if the equipment does not arrive. In the prevailing economic and legal jungle, however, that will be very difficult.

In any event, the entire story is very "muddled." Among the numerous speculations, three stand out: In the least probable version, NTV was forced to give up its equipment to "patriotic stations," and the allegation about a spectacular holdup was intended for foreign partners. The second scenario boils down to a purely criminal affair. The third option presupposes what is called state crime—defending the monopoly over information by using people who are able to carry out this sort of action.

Everything is uncertain except for the fear that such phenomena will become the practice. Dr. Vladan Vasilijevic:

"This case, in terms of the nature of the goods and the circumstances that are known thus far, is an indication of the criminalization of official politics. In recent times, it has been very popular to talk about Masonic lodges, on which blame is placed for the creation and destruction of Yugoslavia. Even if we accept that sort of theory, it is clear that the Masons here have been replaced by new, socialist lodges, which bring together people who are often outlaws and who have placed themselves above the law by exploiting societal conditions. I think that this is the beginning of complete lawlessness and that we will soon be confronted with much more serious cases."

Federal Ministry Wins Dispute Over Building

93BA0490C Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 93 p 32

[Article by J. F. and V. O.: "The Federal Militia Got a Quarrel"]

[Text] Belgrade.—By decision of the Second District Court, the Republic MUP [Ministry of Internal Affairs] will have to leave the premises of the Federal Militia it occupies at 92 Knez Milos Street. This decision was made by Judge Vida Petrovic Skero on New Year's ever concerning a procedure initiated at the end of October.

On the basis of a complaint by the state of the SRJ [Federal Republic of Yugoslavia] against the Republic MUP, it was ruled that the accused return everything "to its previous state" within a period of eight days.

The resolution calls for the Federal MUP to undertake internal and external steps to remove barriers, sealed offices and files, to remove newly placed signs with the name of the MUP of Serbia, and to indicate the name of the real owner. All this in order to assure the unhindered entrance to the building and work of the employees of the federal militia as well as the "utilization of all resources in the usual performance of activities." The Republic MUP has the right to appeal this decision to the District Court within eight days, but the decision must still be carried out.

We recall that the same court made a similar resolution as a temporary measure, but not even after the compulsory implementation was it carried out.

Serbia

Milosevic Comments on 'Frank' Talks With Colombo

AU2101205393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1830 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] After they concluded their talks, Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Republic of Serbia, and Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo made brief statements to a group of reporters and assessed the talks they held today [in Belgrade].

[Begin recording] [Milosevic] Let me put it very briefly: I am very pleased to have had the opportunity to meet with Mr. Colombo, particularly as he is the first minister of an EC member country to pay a bilateral visit to Yugoslavia and Serbia since the introduction of sanctions. As you know, there have been many visits by EC ministers, but mostly as envoys of the Community itself and in direct connection with the crisis. However, we had an opportunity here also to talk about our mutual relations and our common interests in the cooperation between Yugoslavia, that is, Serbia and Italy. It goes without saying that there is not a single disputable question between our two countries, not a single question in which interests are confronted. On the contrary, there are many reasons for our links to be established and strengthened, above all in the field of economic cooperation, and in many other fields of good-neighborly cooperation between our two countries. In this respect, I think that these talks, which were by the way very frank [otvoren], are very useful for furthering our relations.

[Colombo, in Italian with passage-by-passage Serbo-Croatian translation] I am also pleased at having had the opportunity to meet Mr. Milosevic. As you have seen, it was a very long meeting. As President Milosevic said, this meeting is taking place after the plan of Vance and Owen had been accepted in Geneva and subsequently approved of by the parliament of the Serbian republic. We have assessed this to be a positive fact. I have also given due credit to President Milosevic for the role he personally played when he took part at the latest meeting in Geneva. I have also said that this is a positive step, but that it is necessary to make further steps. To attain all the rest, it is necessary for him to make his contribution to that. A fast and a positive solution that may be reached in Geneva represents another contribution that may be made with a view to stopping fighting in Bosnia-Hercegovina and to finally finding a solution that would lead to peace. One should also remove all that may lead to violating human rights and that is something that every one of us may complain about and that may hit every one of us. All this is in the interest of the international community and of Serbia, Yugoslavia, and the whole of the Balkan peninsula.

We have held talks about all this, and I do not know whether I may say that these talks were positive.

[Milosevic] I think that you may.

[Colombo] Goodbye.

[Milosevic, in Italian] Good bye.

[Unidentified reporter, in English] Mr. President, what are your comments about [words indistinct]

[Milosevic] I see the visit by the Italian foreign minister to be a very positive step toward strengthening our bilateral relations. I think that it is a very important fact that this gesture by the Italian Republic—as our neighbor with whom we have and with whom we have had very good relations over a number of years—took place at this moment when the entire crisis in Yugoslavia and particularly this hotbed of war in Bosnia-Hercegovina is turning toward a peaceful solution. I hope that these relations that we are trying to establish with our neighbors will contribute to stability and peace in the region. In this respect, I can assess our talks as very frank and as a very positive step forward in every respect.

[Reporter] How do you assess the decisions by the assembly of the Serbian republic?

[Milosevic] The decisions of the assembly of the Serbian republic perhaps most clearly show how much Bosnian Serbs are oriented toward a peaceful solution to the crisis in Bosnia. Therefore, we expect that as a result of the acceptance of the constitutional principles, a positive development of the Geneva talks will follow that will equally protect the rights of all three constitutive peoples in a right way and completely. After all, this was the initial position that we have been advocating from the very beginning. As you can see, there has been no change in our stands in this respect, but, on the contrary, there has been a recognition of our approach to solving problems, which has always been based on the equal respect of the interests of all three peoples in Bosnia-Hercegovina. This is therefore a very big and, I would say, an extremely positive step toward peace.

[Reporter] [Words indistinct] about Muslims and Croats to make some positive steps, too, particularly regarding military actions—attacks against Serbia and Yugoslavia.

[Milosevic] In the conflict taking place in Bosnia- Hercegovina, everybody must respect the adopted principles. This implies that these principles do not apply only to the Serbian side. They must apply to the Muslim and Croatian sides, too. In fact, each side should now show how genuinely it wants peace. The Serbs have shown that they want it genuinely. We expect the other two sides to show that, too.

[Reporter] If you are invited to go to Geneva, are you going to go there [words indistinct]?

[Milosevic] There is no single step that I would refuse to make if it may contribute to establishing peace in Bosnia-Hercegovina although it is clear that we are not a side in the conflict there. However, it is also clear that Serbia wants to make its maximum contribution toward establishing peace, but when we say peace we mean a just and a lasting peace. That means a peace that would recognize the interests of all three peoples. Thank you. [end recording]

Economic Situation Causes TV, Radio Staff Cuts

LD2101212493 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1616 GMT 21 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 21 (TANJUG)—A decision of Serbian Radio and Television (RTS) to reduce its staff is motivated essentially by the grave economic situation resulting from the U.N. sanctions imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, a statement released by the RTS management on Wednesday [19 January] said.

The statement followed on public reactions to a report that 1,103 of the RTS staff members of 7,500 (15.8 per cent) have been sent on extended, paid holidays. Less than three percent of the journalists are affected by the decision, it added.

Rationalization measures, including the shortening of programmes, cuts in fuel and electricity consumption and operating supplies as well as in the number of employees, were discussed last June, said the statement signed by RTS Director General Milorad Vucelic.

The employees sent on extended holidays include those who have fulfilled conditions for retirement, whose volume of work has been reduced or who have other means of support, volunteers for paid holidays and those whose wives or husbands are also employed in the RTS.

The RTS trade union, which was informed about the proposed measures in due time, has described paid holiday as "a forced measure under the circumstances," the statement added.

The parallel, so-called independent trade union on Serbian Radio and Television accused the management at several press conferences last week, claiming that members of this union were primarily affected by the decision, and this largely for political reasons.

Journalists Protest Against 'Purges'

AU2101173493 Belgrade NEDELJNA BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9-10 Jan 93 p 7

[Unattributed report: "TANJUG Journalists Protest"]

[Text] The Council of the TANJUG Journalists protests against announced dismissals of many journalists working in the Radio-Television Serbia.

"Although we are aware that all publishers and broadcasting stations have a certain surplus of people, however, the names that the press has stated to be on the lists for so-called compulsory vacations cause quite an alarm.

"The people we are talking about are the top professionals, who have been a longer time off the program or their jobs because of somebody's arbitrariness, and our colleagues who have been trying to contribute with their work to the preservation of highest professional standards.

"Their definite dismissal can be understood only as a vengeance taken upon the professional journalism within the most powerful media in Serbia and Montenegro.

"There are many clues implying that such politically stimulated purges can be expected in other media enterprises."

Sandzak Leader on Terror, Union With Bosnia

93BA0482B Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 93 p 6

[Article by Nikola Stanojevic: "When Ugljanin Is Away, Novi Pazar Is an Oasis of Peace"]

[Text] Novi Pazar—In a conversation in the city he makes his headquarters, Sulejman Ugljanin says that the missiles around Kragujevac are aimed at Novi Pazar and that the barrels of the artillery guns and tanks are aimed at Muslim houses. He says that he knows this for sure.

"That is pure imagination. The army is carrying out regular training exercises in Sandzak and preventing the war from carrying over from Bosnia to Serbia. We surely are not going to ask Ugljanin or any other leader of some party where we are going to station our units and what activities we are going to engage in. Those who consider this land their own are certainly not afraid of the army," says Lieutenant Colonel Milan Simic of the Uzice Corps.

The lieutenant colonel also recalled the words of Rasim Ljajic, secretary of the SDA [Democratic Action Party], to the effect that there are 29,000 soldiers on the Pester

Plateau. But Ugljanin now says that "before 20 October there were only 120 soldiers in all of Sandzak."

"I do not know where they get those numbers. Those are incredible lies. It would take entire tent cities to house such an army," Simic says.

It seems the right figures are not important to the SDA leaders. What is important is to continually heat up the thesis that the Muslims are threatened by the Army of Yugoslavia [VJ].

"When Sulejman Ugljanin, leader of the Democratic Action Party, comes to Pazar and delivers some speech, the city is turned into a city of anxiety, and when he is not around, when he is abroad, Pazar is an oasis of peace," says Mahmut Memic, assistant federal minister for human rights and the rights of ethnic minorities.

"When foreign missions, missions of the CSCE, missions of the United Nations, have come, they all were amazed how the people live here. Those who come here get a quite different picture from the picture one gets from various emissaries in the world. Here, in Pazar we get along superbly and certainly better than in any of the republics of the former Yugoslavia," Memic adds.

"That is what Milosevic wants, for me to be out of the country, to be abroad," Ugljanin says.

"I am talking about Memic's assessment."

"Yes. Yes. However, you should ask for the truth, you should ask the people, you need to see for yourself. That is the way Memic talks. From the speaker's platform in the Assembly he has called for aid against the terrorists, against his own people. Those terrorists do not exist anywhere. No terrorist act has been committed by a Muslim either against a Muslim or a Serb in Novi Pazar."

The SDA leader obviously has a "short memory," but one that serves the purpose. His followers "issued a warning" to Memic and Sefik Alomerovic, a distinguished businessman and a member for Serbia of the European Peace Movement.

Alomerovic, as he himself says, has been attacked twice by the SDA. The first time in July of last year a bomb destroyed a truck of his, and in September a bomb was thrown on the porch of his house.

The attacks on Alomerovic were not a surprise. Ugljanin had pronounced the "verdict" against him and did so publicly. The first time over Radio Novi Pazar with the message that "the wolf will eat Alomerovic and Memic as it does every sheep that strays from the flock." Then, in the review SANDZAK, Memic and Alomerovic were warned that they were "running their last lap."

Memic, who had a car demolished by a bomb, is not surprised at anything. In a letter addressed to the citizens of Novi Pazar following that event, Memic called upon them to raise their voices and condemn the terrorist acts of the SDA, because in the attack "it is easy to recognize the terrorist executors of the verdict personally issued against my family by Sulejman Ugljanin back in January."

The other day Ugljanin denied that he had spoken about annexing Sandzak to Bosnia. He remembered the "public statement" on 3 April of last year.

"I declared at that time that a war of extinction had been imposed on the Muslims. I hope God grants that we survive. However, I never mentioned annexation to Bosnia anywhere. We have constantly been in favor of the unchangeability of borders. There was never anything said about annexation to Bosnia."

That is what Ugljanin is saying now, but in early March of last year he said in the annual General Assembly of the SDA that he does not recognize Yugoslavia and that the Muslims will fight with every means for political and territorial autonomy. He ended his speech with these words:

"Long live our sovereign and independent homeland—Bosnia-Hercegovina."

In October, when a journalist from the Berlin newspaper DIE TAGESZEITUNG asked him, "Is not the real objective of the Muslims in Sandzak to join the 'parent country' Bosnia-Hercegovina?" Ugljanin answered:

"That is a completely natural process which certainly will occur in the future. But it would be wrong to reflect on that at this moment. Now, our attention and concern should be devoted to the terror which up to now has been instituted in Sandzak."

Permanent Layoffs at Zastava Factory Expected

93BA0482A Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 8 Jan 93 p 8

[Article by Z. Radovanovic: "Some 8,000 Workers Out in the Street?"]

[Text] Although about 16,500 people employed in the Zastava Automobile Factory are taking a collective winter vacation at the moment, the staff services in that firm have been working hard preparing documentation to solve the problem of an excessively large work force. Plans have been made for the managers of work entities of Zastava Automobiles to set "quotas" next week and determine the names of the workers who will "fly" from the factory forever, which is to be confirmed by the managing board of the largest automobile firm in the Balkans in a meeting scheduled for 15 January.

This would be a rather free paraphrase of the official report from Zastava Automobiles, announcing that "because of the drop in the volume of production and other difficulties," a certain number of workers here must nevertheless "move" permanently to the street from the factory grounds.

Because this "hot topic" has already begun to heat up the icy atmosphere of Kragujevac quite a bit, and there has been no official information on the number of workers to be discharged, it is worth recalling that in a press conference just before New Year's the top officials of Zastava announced that in the first half of the year between 1,000 and 2,000 employees on the lists of technological redundancy would be "taken care of" permanently. The government of Serbia has already furnished 3.2 billion dinars for that purpose, it was also stated, and that money will be paid to workers interested in severing the employment relation in the amount of six-month or average wages for 24 months.

"This applies above all to friends of Zastava's manager, who will have some kind of material support when they leave the sinking ship," BORBA was told by Petar Medic, president of Zastava's Nezavisni [Independent] Trade Union. From what we have learned from reliable sources, even as many as some 8,000 workers of Zastava Automobiles will be discharged in the second half of January. The lists of names have already been drawn up, but the management of Zastava Automobiles is keeping them under an embargo in locked offices, waiting for the managing board of the factory just to verify them on 15 January.

They say in Zastava's Nezavisni Trade Union that this is a "logical move" by the management of the giant in Kragujevac because its largest factory, the one for the production of automobiles, they say, has been brought to the very edge of bankruptcy by the disastrous business policy of the top managers. They illustrate this conclusion with an official copy of the minutes from the last meeting last year (the December meeting) of the Managing Board of Zastava Automobiles, which literally states that in the previous nine months the Kragujevac passenger car manufacturer had shown a loss of 63 billion dinars (the losses still have not been computed for the last quarter of 1992). This amount did not include losses that occurred on the basis of exchange-rate differences and interest, because the government of Serbia has been asked to postpone them for five years....

The statements concerning the financial and production performance of Zastava Automobiles for 1992 and the plan for the first three months of 1993, the minutes of the meeting of the managing board literally state, "suggest the conclusion that the joint stock company Zastava Automobiles is threatened with a realistic danger of suffering a total financial collapse, with no possibility for resumption of operations, no later than the end of the first quarter."

"The Zastava management, aware of this, has obviously decided to save the situation by discharging 8,000 workers, and to do so in such a way that the money of the Serbian government will go first to care for its friends, while the rest will be pushed out onto the street," Petar Medic emphasized.

Macedonia

Greek Interference with Air Frequencies Reported

93BA0458A Skopje NOVA MAKEDONIJA in Macedonian 29 Dec 92 p 2

[Report by B.J.: "Dangerous Intrusion in Aircraft Frequencies"]

[Text] *Intrusions in working frequencies of the Flight Control Service of Skopje Airport by Greek pilots are increasing. In addition to music, yesterday, for the first time, the statement "Macedonia is Greek" was heard in the English language.*

Recently, the Greek hysteria of contesting and denying the name of our Republic, and the climate that this policy has created in our southern neighbor, have assumed the dimensions of delirium. This endangers the safety of Macedonian skies. We are referring to the increasing provocations by Greek pilots in flying their aircraft out of Greece over the territory of our Republic as well as when flying over Greek territory. This hinders the operations of the Republic's Flight Control Service.

According to Predrag Terzioski, air traffic controller at Skopje Airport, for the past two months there have been increasing cases of intruding in the working frequencies of the access flight control wavelength of 120.3 MHz, and there have been dangerous intrusions by Greek pilots on a virtually daily basis. This most directly threatens the safety of the Macedonian airspace and makes any normal operation of the Air Control Service impossible, for its working frequencies are used exclusively for communicating with airplanes that land or take off at Skopje Airport, or aircraft that are flying over Macedonian territory. All of this is done by the Greek pilots by broadcasting music on said frequencies or jamming them. Yesterday, sometime about 1340 hours, for the first time a slogan was heard and recorded, delivered in the English language, saying "Macedonia is Greek." The intrusion in the frequency used by that service, according to Terzioski, occurred five to six times yesterday, and was traced to Olympic 146 flight from Brussels to Athens.

The recommendations of the National Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) stipulate that such interferences in the work frequencies of air flight controllers must be punished most strictly and treated as an act of endangering the safety of civil air transport. According to the Air Control Service at Skopje Airport, such excesses are not something unknown in air communications. This calls for a notification to the airline whose crew is responsible, and for the airline to punish the pilot. Such actions are reported to the ICAO, whose penalties in such cases are much stricter. What is inadmissible in our case is the fact that Macedonia is still not a member of that international organization and that in order to become a member it must be a member of the United Nations. Our Republic also lacks its own air control authority and, therefore, has no mechanisms for such interventions. On the other hand, the demand for taking proper steps, addressed to the area flight control in Belgrade that, prior to the breakdown of Yugoslavia, had some responsibility in airline communications in our Republic, are doomed to failure from the start.

Montenegro

President Says Next Two Months Crucial

LD2201114593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1132 GMT 22 Jan 93

[Text] Belgrade, January 22 (TANJUG)—The next two months will be crucial for the future of Yugoslavia and, if a favourable political solution is reached, the resumption of economic cooperation with members of the former federation will be possible, president of the Yugoslav Republic of Montenegro Momir Bulatovic has said.

In an interview published by the Belgrade weekly NIN on Friday [22 January], Bulatovic said that the next two months "will be crucial either for a political dialogue or for a senseless continuation of fighting in our territories. When the fundamental political dilemmas are settled and the existence of new realities is accepted, I believe economic integration will proceed much faster than the pessimists expect."

After the December 20 elections, Montenegro and Serbia, which make up the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, are expected to form a new Federal Government, whose prime minister, under the federal constitution, should be a politician from Montenegro.

Bulatovic also commented on the federal parliament's vote of no-confidence in the Federal Government of Prime Minister Milan Panic and announcements that President Dobrica Cosic would face a similar fate.

"I believe that an attempt to replace President Cosic would have much graver political consequences," said Bulatovic.

President of the Serbian Radical Party Vojislav Seselj, who initiatited the no-confidence vote in Panic in December 1992, on Thursday announced a similar move concerning President Cosic. He accused Cosic of violating the Constitution and making "disastrous political mistakes."

"Only the Constitutional Court can decide whether the president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia has overstepped his authority," said Bulatovic.

The court, however, has not yet been constituted.

Bulatovic also recalled his talks with president of the breakaway Yugoslav Republic of Croatia Franjo Tudjman before the 1991 action launched in the direction of Dubrovnik by the former Yugoslav People's Army from the Montenegrin territory.

"I learned from Mr Tudjman that he was ready to pay any price in terms of human lives and money in order to realize the 'one-thousand-year-old dream' (of an independent Croatia) ... Tudjman succeeded in his endeavour. He got an internationally recognized and respected state and it is no longer in his interest to wage a war. We can now talk," said Bulatovic.

Last autumn, the Yugoslav Army withdrew from Prevlaka, a strategic peninsula at the mouth of Montenegro's Bay of Kotor, and U.N. observers were deployed there.

The Army's withdrawal, based on an accord reached by Cosic and Tudjman in Geneva last September, has been described by some circles in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia as a concession equal to treason.

Kosovo

Kosovo Albanians Reportedly Preparing for War

93BA0482D Novi Sad DNEVNIK in Serbo-Croatian 30 Dec 92 p 5

[Article by Nenad Novakovic: "Arms Are Arriving From Albania"]

[Text] According to recent indicators, Albanians in Kosmet are gradually, but surely preparing for a possible war in the province. There are increasingly frequent discoveries of weapons rings, drug smuggling, thefts of weapons and ammunition, as well as the disappearance of guns and weapons which were supposed to be taken from work collectives and placed under control of the army. A sizable portion of those arms have disappeared without a trace. The problem is that there are no precise records as to exactly what is missing, because there is no information as to what all the particular work organizations acquired. Everyone was guided by his own capabilities and purchased the weapons which he could obtain and for which he had the money. When purchases are made like that, records were not kept or the documents disappeared from a large number of organizations. When the weapons were supposed to be moved from the collective to military warehouses, it was found that the quantity was too small. But nothing is being said about this in Kosmet!

The smuggling rings deliver the weapons from the battlefield in Bosnia-Hercegovina or Croatia, and arms from Albania are becoming more and more frequent; they are cheaper and are easier to deliver to Kosmet and the final purchasers. To be sure, the quality is not high either. On the basis of what has been confiscated so far, these are old-fashioned Chinese weapons which are largely outdated, but they are also rather worn-out from use and poor maintenance. The Macedonian-Albanian border is poorly guarded, and it is easy for the arms to cross into Macedonia in that area, and then they are carried through the woods slowly and in an organized fashion to the Albanian purchasers in Kosmet.

At the same time, the leaders of the Albanian political parties are trying in every way, with the help of powerful international factors, to charge the Serbs and Serbia in advance for possible conflicts in Kosmet. They invent the most diverse reasons to back up that thesis.

Nor is propaganda being neglected. Meetings are held in which the strength and power of Albanians in Kosmet are glorified, and they especially talk about the promised aid from the brothers in Albania, as well as about military aid of the world powers such as the United States, Germany, Hungary, and Turkey.

For the first time, the Democratic Alliance in Kosovo, so we have learned, is directly involved, supporting the creation of commando-terrorist teams as the main striking force of the Albanian movement in Kosmet, especially in the first phase of the fight against the Serbs, until the rest are supplied a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition.

There is also confirmation that the thinking is really military and concerns wartime options in the realization that the Albanians from Kosmet in Tetovo and Skoplje have organized two private camps for Albanian refugees from Kosmet, above all, women, children, and the elderly, and also the use of the Skoplje Airport to bring Albanians from abroad and to carry to safety refugees coming from the country to the west.

So much long-range planning does not offer prospects of any peaceful resolution of the problems, to put it mildly, but suggests only war and unrest. Parallel to these activities, the leaders of the Albanians are talking in the world about peace, and at the same time the Serbs are being charged as possible aggressors and oppressors of the Albanians in the province. The most amazing thing is that the competent government institutions are not reacting to all this nor pointing it out if not to the world public, then at least to the citizens of Kosmet.

Vojvodina

TV Trade Union Sends Protest Letter to Cosic

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[Text] Novi Sad, Jan. 21 (TANJUG)—The independent trade union of Novi Sad Television on Thursday [21 January] sent an open letter to Yugoslav President Dobrica Cosic, saying the laying off of 1,500 employees of the Serbian TV-Radio (RTS) was an "unconcealed political purge" similar to those from the communist era.

Yugoslav Information Minister Milivoje Pavlovic said on Saturday the move was part of a "necessary rationalization" at the RTS. He said tens of thousands of workers in other sectors, primarily the economy, were sent to paid leave because of, among other things, unjust international sanctions against Yugoslavia.

The RTS did not dismiss a single employee, but only laid off 20 percent of its workers and will pay them 80 percent of their wages.

The independent trade union of Novi Sad TV, which is part of the RTS system, said the rationalization of production was indisputably necessary. However, it added, by removing the burden of blue collar and other unproductive workers, the RTS is trying to achieve its main goal—to prevent creative people from doing their job.

"We believe you will do everything you can to stop the tragic comedy of destroying also this segment of our culture," the union told Cosic, a renowned writer and dissident during the communist era.

Novi Sad Television has sent 76 employees to paid leave, including author Laszlo Vegel, a member of the Federal Election Commission, a number of MPs [members of parliament] in Serbia and the province of Vojvodina and Vojvodina Minority Minister Ferenz Deak.